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ABSTRACT

A collection of papers presented at a seminar conducted at the Regional Language Centre (Singapore) on communicative language teaching includes: "Int[illegible]ing the New and the Old in a Communicative Approach" (William [illegible]ttlewood); "Communicative Competence and Language Teaching: Second Thoughts" (Christina Bratt Paulston); "Communicative Teaching: 'Communicative' in What Sense?" (N. S. Prabhu); "Silence in the Communicative Curriculum" (John Gibbons); "Theory and Methodology: Do We Do What We Are Knowing?" (J. D. Willis); "The Status of Grammar in the Language Curriculum" (Jack C. Richards); "Communicative Language Teaching in the Rural Areas: How Does One Make the Irrelevant Relevant?" (Andrew Gonzalez); "Teaching for Communicative Competence in a Second Language" (Bonifacio P. Sibayan); "Opportunities for Learning through the Communicative Approach" (Paul Nation); "UMSEP and the Deep End-Support-Performance Approach to Language Learning" (Khong Chooi Peng); "The Communicative Approach: Questions Arising from Materials Writing in a TEFL Situation" (P. W. J. Nababan); "The Role of Communicative Language Teaching in Secondary Schools -- with Special Reference to Teaching in Singapore" (T. A. Kirkpatrick); and "Learning Language on the Worksite: Some Implications for Pedagogy" (Bikram K. Das). (MSE)

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COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

ED266661

Selected Papers from the RELC Seminar on "Communicative Language Teaching" Singapore, 23–27 April 1984

Edited by BIKRAM K. DAS

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Foreword

Communicative Language Teaching was the theme of the regional seminar conducted at RELC from 23–27 April 1984, which attracted considerable attention from various groups of professionals involved in language education, particularly in Southeast Asia. It is a pleasure to write the Foreword for this anthology of selected papers presented at the seminar.

While knowledge must be valued for its own sake, we believe at RELC that theoretical advances in Applied Linguistics, or the disciplines that support it, ought to benefit the teaching profession and so, the community. The organisation of regional seminars serves the important function of bridging the gap between the scholar and the practising teacher.

The effective teaching of languages is of utmost importance to Singapore (which hosts RELC) and to Southeast Asia generally. Educational administrators and language planners have had reason to feel concerned about the somewhat limited success of some of the programmes of language education, introduced at high cost. It is essential that available scholarship and technical expertise be pooled to enhance the cost-effectiveness of language teaching. Every new development or advance that might seem to suggest, even potentially, an answer to our problems needs to be considered, reviewed and evaluated. Communicative Language Teaching, which is currently receiving a great deal of attention from professionals, who discussed from several points of view at the RELC Regional Seminar of 1984. The introduction to this anthology sets out, as clearly as can be achieved for such a complex subject, the broad issues involved. Teachers, principals and others interested in language education would benefit from this publication.

We are fairly confident that this anthology will help in disseminating the key issues raised at the 1984 Seminar to a wider audience. A second collection of papers from the seminar is to be published shortly, as part of the *RELC Occasional Papers* series.

Earnest Lau
Director
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre

Introduction

People who patronise dentists and other professional problem-solvers are usually content to let the 'expert' decide what is best. There is, however, one group of people who are chronically suspicious of experts, and these are the parents of school-children. And of all the experts that they mistrust, language teachers are the most vulnerable. The average parent would not dream of telling the Mathematics teacher how to go about his job, but he has very definite views about language teaching (which rarely conform to expert opinion). After all, language teaching is everybody's business.

It may be dangerous to dismiss all 'uniformed' opinion about language teaching as irrelevant, because the expectations and attitudes that such opinion can generate can be crucial to the success of teaching. The public needs to be informed, as much as the language teacher, who must cater to its needs; in fact, the formulation and expression of public opinion must be part of the teaching process.

The 'experts' at the top of the language teaching pyramid (let us call them Applied Linguists, for want of a better term) have been insisting that language learning is an incredibly complex and sensitive process, which can be influenced by one or more of an amazing number of variables. Judging by what Applied Linguists have been able to discover about the language learning process, it is nothing short of a miracle that anyone is able to learn a second or foreign language at all. Unfortunately, parents couldn't care less about the complexity of the process: they expect results. And who is to tell them that they are naive, or misguided? Of all the forms of human activity intended to improve the 'quality of life', the teaching of languages in schools must be among the least productive and most frustrating. It really is remarkable that something that seems to 'happen' so successfully outside the school should lead to so much frustration when undertaken within the school system. Can there be a stronger argument for de-schooling?

It is not as though Applied Linguists (and language teachers) have been unresponsive to the expectations of the public. Over the years and, in fact, the centuries, various recipes have been tried. Often, we have appeared to be on the verge of some breakthrough. Perhaps we are no nearer to the solution now than we ever were,

despite the brave front of confidence that has frequently been assumed. Maybe our fumbling is less tentative at sometimes than at others: we certainly have more elegant ways of rationalizing our uncertainties.

One of the important contributors to this volume, Christina Bratt Paulston, points out (quoting Kelly) that twenty-five centuries of language teaching have rarely witnessed anything radically new. There have been plenty of 'revolution', but these have essentially been new 'mixes' of old ideas. This has, however, done nothing to diminish our faith in the possibility of a revolution: it is more important that something appear to be new than that it be actually new.

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is perhaps the latest in a long succession of revolutions in language teaching: to its advocates, it represents a fundamental 'paradigm shift' — a radically new approach to the teaching-learning process. CLT, it is claimed, involves the making of new and different assumptions about the two fundamental questions: *what* is learnt, and *how* it is learnt. We are told that these assumptions have the backing of the most recent research in Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics; we are also being told that CLT is already demonstrating its superiority over the orthodox "methods" that it is intended to replace. Two considerations dictate that we be cautious in accepting these claims. First, the basic assumptions underlying CLT appear, when stripped of all mystique, to be somewhat familiar: the assumptions made for various 'natural', 'direct' and 'psychological' methods in the past were not entirely different from those which now form part of CLT. Secondly, every new method has had at least some success to show — even the ones supposed to be rendered obsolescent by CLT. No method has ever been accepted into a school system on purely speculative grounds.

It is not our intention to be cynical. We recognize and accept CLT as an exciting development in language teaching. It must be given a fair trial, or at least a descent hearing. To ignore CLT would be a greater crime than to embrace it unreservedly. Among its champions are some of the most respected names in Applied Linguistics and Language Education, and they cannot all be completely wrong. The basic assumptions it makes about the 'what' and 'how' of language learning-teaching certainly attract the contemporary mind;

the reservations are mainly about the feasibility of putting CLT into practice, in various cultural and pedagogical contents.

Even if CLT were totally fantastical and perverse (which it is not), it would still be important to discuss it. As we said earlier, the informing process must go on, and involve Applied Linguists, language teachers and administrators, *and* the parents who expect their children to pass the language test at the end of the school year. Language teaching *is* everybody's business.

Communicative Language Teaching

This introduction has no pretensions to scholarship: there is quite enough of ...at in the pages that follow. Some of our readers may, however, find an 'instant' review of some important issues in CLT useful.

CLT represents a reaction against the 'approaches' to the teaching of second/foreign languages which have been in vogue for approximately the last forty years.

Any 'approach' to language teaching requires that two sets of assumptions be made: firstly, assumptions about "*what* language is" and secondly, assumptions about "*how* people learn languages".

These assumptions influence all the decisions that are taken in implementing any programme of language teaching: decisions about *what* should be taught, which are reflected in the way the syllabus is organised and presented, and decisions about *how* the teaching should be done, which are reflected mainly in the kinds of 'techniques' that teachers use in the classroom.

The approaches to language teaching which have been in vogue until recent times (and which CLT is trying to replace) assumed that:

1. Language is essentially a set of rules, which the learner must master.

2. These rules are the rules of grammar, which determine how sentences are constructed, in order that they may carry meanings.

3. *What* the language learner must learn, and what he must therefore be taught, are the rules of grammar. However, the learner must have a large enough stock of words to be able to construct a great variety of sentences. The learning of words, therefore, may be considered a part of the learning of grammar.

4. If a learner has been able to learn the necessary rules of grammar, he should be able to *use* the language (or languages) con-

cerned for all kinds of communication. He should, for example, be able to speak correctly and meaningfully, when the need to speak arises; he should also be able to understand anything that is spoken to him, as the person who addresses him uses the same rules of grammar as he does himself. By extension, he should also be able to write and to read, since reading and writing depend on the same rules of grammar, for conveying meanings, as listening and speaking.

All the above assumptions relate to the "what" of language teaching: they attempt to answer the question: "*What* is learnt by the language learner?"

A number of points need to be discussed in relation to these assumptions:

(a) If it is claimed that what the language learner learns is essentially the rules of grammar, we must define what we mean by the word "rule".

The word "rule", as commonly used (e.g., "the rules of football"), implies some kind of knowledge that a person has, which lets him decide whether a particular action is desirable or possible.

A rule usually represents *conscious* knowledge: it is something that the learner can state, or describe. What is more, the learner is usually aware that he is learning a rule.

The rules of grammar (which the language learner must learn) are not always consciously learned. In fact, in most cases, the learner is not aware of the fact that he "knows" the rules: he is usually not be able to describe or explain the rules that he has learnt. (Often, though, he *can* describe a rule, if forced to do so.)

The rules of grammar can exist (for the learner) both as conscious knowledge and as unconscious (or semi-conscious) knowledge.

We shall consider later *how* these two kinds of knowledge are acquired.

(b) Is it true that if one has mastered the rules of grammar, one can *use* grammar for all kinds of communication? Exactly what is it that a knowledge (conscious or unconscious) of grammar allows one to do? What is it that a knowledge of grammar *cannot* help someone to do? (In other words, where do the rules of grammar *stop*?)

These questions become very important in CLT, and we shall discuss them more fully later.

Let us now look at another set of assumptions which were

made in some earlier approaches to language teaching (let us call them *pre-CLT*, for convenience). These assumptions relate to the "how" of language teaching: they attempt to answer the question "How does the learner learn?"

At this point, we must stop to point out that the various approaches which we have labelled *pre-CLT* did not all make the same assumptions. Often, the assumptions contradicted each other. However, CLT now seems to question all, or nearly all, of these assumptions. This is why it is convenient to ignore the differences between the various *pre-CLT* approaches.

Here, now, are the important assumptions about the "how" of language learning, made in *pre-CLT*:

5. The rules of grammar, both conscious and unconscious, can be learnt *inductively*. That is, the learner can infer or discover a rule when he is supplied with illustrative sentences (or examples) which have been constructed according to the rule which has to be learnt. The learner progresses from many examples to the common, underlying rule.

Inductive learning will, more often than not, lead to unconscious knowledge of the rules of grammar. It can and does, however, also lead to more conscious kinds of knowledge — especially when the learner is aware of what he is doing.

6. The rules can also be learnt *deductively*. That is, a rule can first be 'given' to the learner, and then illustrated through various sentences which exemplify the rule.

Deductive learning will obviously result only in conscious knowledge of the rules.

Usually, deductive learning of the rules of grammar takes place only in the language classroom. On the other hand, inductive learning seems to be taking place all the time, whenever there is any learning of language outside the classroom.

7. Any knowledge of the rules of grammar, whether conscious or unconscious, has to be *internalized* before it can be used for communication. (The knowledge cannot be put to use as soon as it has been acquired: there is generally some time lag between the acquisition of the knowledge and its availability for use.)

What exactly is involved in the process of "internalization" of knowledge? Does the knowledge have to be converted into some other state before it can be made available for use in communication?

There is no satisfactory answer to this question, although various theoretical explanations have been offered. However, the process of internalization is something that every teacher (not just the language teacher) is aware of.

Most teachers regard internalization as a form of *skill learning*.

The language teacher would say, for example, that once a rule has been learnt, consciously or unconsciously, the learner needs *practice* in using the rule. He is given 'tasks' which require him to use the rule. At first, his use of the rule is slow and uncertain. Perhaps this is because he must, at first, constantly refer back to the rule (which he has learnt). But with practice, he is able to use the rule more surely and with greater speed. He does not need to refer back to the rule quite as often. Now his use of the rule is *automatic*. He has learnt a skill.

It is tempting to think that what happens during the process of internalization is that the rule is converted into some other state, so that it can be immediately and directly used, at the time it is needed. This raises a number of questions, however, to which no exact answers are available.

Presumably, when a rule has been learnt, it is "stored" by the learner. Where, and in what form? Available knowledge suggests that it is stored in the brain, in the form of some kind of pattern, "printed" into the brain cells. Later, when the rule has to be used, the learner needs to "retrieve" or "consult" the rule — he has to be able to select the right pattern, out of the millions of patterns which are stored in the brain. How does this happen? We are not sure; in fact, we can only make crude guesses. Some kind of "connections" are made in the brain, so that the rule becomes available. Then, since use of the rule generally involves some muscular activity, obviously some sort of "message" must go out from the brain to the muscles which are involved, and this message must be dictated by the pattern (in the brain) which has resulted from the learning of the rule. With internalization, the transmission of this message must somehow become faster and more accurate. Is there a change in the channels through which the message is transmitted? Does the process of internalization, through repeated practice, "burn grooves" into the brain, so that the whole process of recall and application of the rule becomes instantaneous? Perhaps.

An interesting question that arises here is: are "conscious"

rules (i.e., rules that are learnt consciously) stored in the same place and in the same form as "unconscious" rules? Is the process of "recall" (during use) the same for both kinds of rules?

It would appear logical to suppose that conscious and unconscious rules cannot be stored and recalled in the same way: that would tend to neutralize the difference between them, and there clearly is a difference.

It has been suggested that unconscious rules can be internalized more easily than conscious rules, and so can be "put to use" more readily. This would imply that during the process of internalization, a rule (whether conscious or unconscious) is converted into some *even* less conscious state. But now we are in the realm of pure speculation.

8. It is assumed, in *pre-CLT*, that the rules of grammar are learnt and internalized *sequentially* — that is, one at a time, or perhaps a few at a time, rather than all at the same time.

The various rules of grammar are inter-related: they form a single interlocking system. Nevertheless, the rules are learnt 'piecemeal'. Later, the various rules get fitted together, like the pieces in a jigsaw puzzle.

It follows that when the rules have to be taught, either inductively or deductively, they should be 'fed' to the learner in some kind of sequence, preferably one at a time. Each rule is internalized, through practice, before the next rule is introduced.

For the purpose of teaching, the complete system of grammar must, therefore, be broken down into chunks, or teaching items. These chunks are then arranged in a sequence, which forms the syllabus. Then each item is "presented" to the learner (inductively or deductively), internalized through practice and (hopefully) converted into some kind of communication skill. And so the process goes on until the entire system of grammar has been internalized.

It will be obvious, from the above discussion, that the syllabus used in such approaches to language teaching is based on what people believe the "complete grammar" of English to be. In other words, the syllabus is derived from available descriptions of the grammar of the language being taught.

Before the syllabus is designed, someone has to present a complete 'map' of the grammatical system which the learner is expected to internalize. What the learner does is to recreate the map, from the

various pieces of the jigsaw puzzle that the syllabus represents.

Let us go on now to examine some of the assumptions that CLT makes about the "what" and "how" of language learning.

As a matter of fact, CLT seems to exist in two different versions. The first of these (Version 1) is far more concerned with the "what", while Version 2 emphasises the "how".

Both versions place Communication — i.e., the *use* of language for different purposes — at the centre of language teaching. However, Version 1 regards Communication as the *goal* of language learning, while Version 2 treats Communication as the *means* of language learning. We could, therefore, label Version 1 as "Language *for* Communication", and Version 2 as "Language *through* Communication". The distinctions between the two are not always maintained, but for purposes of discussion it is convenient to regard them as distinct.

Language for Communication

As we have seen, *pre-CLT* approaches to language teaching assume that knowledge of the rules of grammar is all that the learner needs in order to communicate through language, in speech as well as writing.

Knowing these rules enables one to construct all the possible grammatical sentences in a language; it also prevents one from constructing "ungrammatical" sentences, such as "Language of to has rules the grammar learner learn" or "The rules of the language has to learn the language learner."

It will be obvious that the second of the sentences above is less nonsensical than the first, and this is because it is less "ungrammatical". The rules of grammar do not exist for ornamental purposes; they enable us to convey meanings effectively.

The purpose of using language, it might be said, is to convey "meanings" of different kinds. A "meaning" is, essentially, a statement made (by the speaker) about the world in which we live. Take, for example, a sentence such as "It is difficult for a language learner to master the rules of grammar." In that sentence, a number of grammatical mechanisms (rules) have been used to convey a certain meaning, which relates to something that happens frequently in the "real world", and which affects many of us.

The kind of meaning we are talking about relates, basically, to

the truth (or lack of truth) of the statement, or *proposition*, that is contained in that sentence. This proposition tells us a number of things: it tells us, for example, that in the real world there exist people who learn languages; that these people are required to learn the rules of grammar, and that they find this difficult.

Most of the sentences which people create, using the rules of grammar, possess what is called "propositional meaning" — that is, they contain propositions, or statements, which can be shown to be true or untrue. (It has been pointed out, however, that many sentences can be grammatical without being meaningful: there is, for example, Chomsky's famous sentence "Colourless green ideas sleep furiously.")

Learning the rules of grammar seems to be essential, therefore, if propositional meanings have to be clearly and effectively conveyed.

The sentences that people create and use, in interacting with other people, possess another kind of meaning, in addition to propositional meaning. This has been termed "illocutionary meaning", and it relates to the *intention* that a speaker wishes to communicate through a sentence. The illocutionary meaning may or may not be the same as the propositional meaning, and difficulties are created for the language learner when the illocutionary meaning is different from the propositional meaning.

To illustrate this point: let us suppose that the Managing Director of a company walks into the Board Room to preside over a meeting of junior executives. Someone has inadvertently left a window open, and the M.D. is somewhat disturbed by the draught.

"It's rather cold today, isn't it?" he says, with apparent cheerfulness, as he settles into his chair.

Apparently, this sentence is just a casual remark about the weather, but it *could* be intended as an order to close the window. (The more perceptive listeners in the room would probably get the intended 'message', and do what was expected.)

Here, the illocutionary meaning is quite different from the propositional meaning, and failure to understand the illocutionary meaning could lead to quite unfortunate consequences. That *would* be "breakdown of communication" of a serious kind!

The language learner needs not only to be able to *understand* the illocutionary meaning of such a sentence but also to be able to

use (when necessary) similar sentences with a 'hidden' illocutionary meaning, quite distinct from the apparent propositional meaning. For example, in several situations, it may be undesirable for a speaker to order people *directly*: the order may have to be disguised as a statement, or a question. The learner should have the ability to disguise his intentions, when necessary.

Unfortunately, the rules of grammar are not of much help here. In order to understand and convey illocutionary meanings successfully (when a gap exists between the propositional and illocutionary meanings), we have to rely on various kinds of "knowledge" *which do not come from grammar.*

It has now been realised that in communicating through language, people use rules of many different kinds, and not just the rules of grammar. There seem to be *rules of communication*, just as there are rules of grammar. It was assumed, earlier, that someone who had mastered the rules of grammar would, somehow, also be able to learn the rules of communication — but clearly, this does not always happen.

The "Language for Communication" school would maintain that since the purpose of learning language is to be able to *communicate*, the learner must be helped to learn the rules of communication. The emphasis must, therefore, be on communication, and not grammar.

It has been proposed, therefore, that the syllabus to be used in teaching should not be based on grammar (as was the case earlier), but should be based on communication.

What should a syllabus based on communication look like? Different solutions to this problem have been offered; the best known one is probably the *notional-functional* syllabus first proposed by Wilkins. In this kind of syllabus, the teaching items do not correspond to grammatical rules, but to "notions" (various kinds of propositional meaning, such as time, space, quantity, etc.) and to "functions" (various kinds of illocutionary meaning, such as "making a request", "expressing disagreement", etc.)

One question that has often been asked is: Should teaching of communication *include* teaching of the rules of grammar?

There are different views on this. Many people maintain that as communication would be impossible if there were no rules of grammar, the teaching of grammar is still essential. A few 'revolu-

tionaries' do think that the teaching of communication can be done without any teaching of grammar — that all the grammar which the learner needs can be 'picked up' in the process of learning how to communicate.

One solution frequently proposed is to start the process of learning through a grammatical syllabus and switch to a "communicative syllabus" after some learning has taken place.

Another suggestion, favoured by many, is to keep to a basically grammatical syllabus, but to intersperse the teaching items with different kinds of communicative elements.

While these may be matters of detail, the important point is that the *objective* of language teaching is seen, from the very beginning, to develop "communicative competence" (i.e., the ability to communicate through language) and not merely "linguistic competence" (i.e., the ability to use the rules of grammar to construct meaningful, grammatical sentences).

As the above discussion should have brought out, the focus is on "what" the learner is expected to learn, rather than on "how" he learns. The "how", on the other hand, is the chief concern of what we have chosen to label "Language *through* Communication".

Language through Communication

This version of Communicative Language Teaching, which seems to have gained strength in recent years, is based on recent discoveries about the processes by which people learn languages in *natural* conditions — that is, outside the language classroom.

It has long been felt that language teaching methods are more likely to be successful if they are more "natural" — in other words, if the process of learning *inside* the language classroom is not too different from the processes by which people learn languages *outside* the classroom. This is the reason why most teachers have, in recent years, favoured the inductive teaching of grammar over deductive teaching: this has seemed more natural.

In nearly all kinds of *pre-CLT* teaching, the emphasis (as we have seen) is on the learning of grammar — whether consciously or unconsciously, inductively or deductively. This kind of emphasis has seemed *natural* to those who advocated a "grammar-based approach": they assumed that in the "naturalistic" learning of language (outside the classroom), it was grammar that was learnt.

However, some of the research done in the last twenty years seems to suggest that people learning languages in naturalistic conditions are much less concerned with grammar than was commonly believed. They are almost totally absorbed in the "messages" that are being communicated, and pay rather little attention to the actual "forms" that these messages take — particularly during the earlier stages of learning.

Children learning their mother-tongue produce many grammatical "errors" — such as "goes" instead of "went", or "This mommy cup" instead of "This is mommy's cup". But nobody seems to mind these errors: few mothers attempt to correct their children when such errors are made (although indirect correction is sometimes used). Ultimately, children do succeed in learning the correct rules, without having been taught the rules.

Parents and other grown-ups who talk to children do not merely accept their errors, but provide them with a lot of support in their attempts to communicate through their "faulty" language. For example, they simplify their own language when talking to children: they speak slowly, use shorter sentences, etc., so that they can be easily understood.

Apparently, what helps the child to master the rules of grammar is not any kind of "teaching" of grammar, but *success in communication*.

Something similar seems to be involved when children when children or adults attempt to learn a new language (outside the classroom, that is). Initially, they too are much concerned with the message rather than its form. They too receive a lot of support in their attempts to communicate, and they seem to learn grammar (if they succeed in learning it) *in attempting to communicate*.

Grammar-based approaches to teaching (in the classroom), it is now being said, are *unnatural* in a number of ways. Primarily, they are unnatural because they force the learner to concentrate more on the forms of messages (i.e., the grammatical mechanisms being used), rather than on the "meanings" (both propositional and illocutionary) which the messages are intended to convey.

The view has been put forward (chiefly by Krashen) that any kind of teaching in which the focus is primarily on form leads to conscious learning of the underlying rules of grammar, whereas focus on meaning leads to *unconscious* learning, or *acquisition*. In any type of

real-life communication, the language learner depends primarily on acquisition — that is, on the unconscious knowledge that he has, rather than on conscious knowledge. Conscious knowledge is useful, however, as a *monitor*: the learner can, if he has the time to do so, "self-correct" his own use of language.

Krashen, and others who hold similar views, do not claim that "what" the learner learns are the rules of communication, rather than the rules of grammar. On the other hand, the assumption still seems to be that the "rules" which the learner uses in communicating may be essentially the rules of grammar — but they are unconscious rules, and not conscious rules.

In "Language through Communication", the emphasis is, therefore, on classroom activities which help learners to acquire the rules (unconsciously) rather than to learn them (consciously). Such activities must require the learner to focus on meaning, rather than on form.

Grammar-based syllabuses should, according to the advocates of "Language through Communication", be largely or completely replaced by "task-based syllabuses": in other words, teaching should consist in engaging the learner in a series of "communicative tasks", which would force him to focus on meaning and thus help him to acquire the rules unconsciously.

Krashen himself has recently been associated with a "Natural Approach" to language learning, which does not completely rule out the value of conscious learning (of grammar). It is argued that since most learners of second languages do, in fact, "monitor" their own use of language, the conscious teaching of grammar can help them to become more efficient "monitor-users".

We hope that this review of some of the main principles on which Communicative Language Teaching seems to be based will help to make the ensuing discussion more meaningful to readers who may not previously have been much exposed to these concepts. The others, we feel, will lose nothing by skipping the introduction altogether.

The contents of this volume represent an attempt to examine *some* of the important aspects of CLT, which means many things to many people. (In fact, part of the attraction of CLT is that it represents the cross-fertilization of several schools of thought and can be interpreted in different ways.) More importantly, the contents

of the volume do genuinely attempt to integrate theoretical speculation and pedagogical practice. Several of the papers undertake to re-examine and re-state the basic underlying assumptions of CLT, and in doing so compel us to review and come to terms with our own assumptions and beliefs. This airing of theoretical issues is always done against the background of existing practice: the classroom and the teacher are never completely lost sight of. Among the papers which undertake this fundamental task of stating the case for (as well as against) CLT by identifying and highlighting the primary issues and assumptions are Prabhu's "Communicative Teaching: Communicative in What Sense?" and Littlewood's "Integrating the New and the Old in a Communicative Approach". Interestingly, these represent contrasting points of view and philosophies of teaching (though the contrast is not always evident): Littlewood, as his title immediately suggests, is eager to accept whatever appears to be 'sensible' (in that it matches the intuitions of the more thoughtful language teacher) as well as feasible, regardless of its pedigree. Prabhu, on the other hand, would probably like to insist that any set of teaching practices be *consistent* with a single underlying 'approach', based on clear and unambiguous assumptions concerning the what and how of language learning. The teacher should, in other words, be clear about his own position and not attempt to have a foot in every possible camp.

Paulston, who was one of the pioneers, is in a unique position to review the mutations that CLT theory and practice have undergone in recent decades. Her chronicle is partly an account of self-discovery. The change from exuberance to guarded optimism that her paper reveals may indeed be an excellent indicator of the stance that the neophyte teacher should adopt.

The paper by Willis shows a more obvious commitment to CLT and a greater willingness (pun unintended) to face the issues headlong. Its indebtness to recent advances in Discourse Analysis (of the kinds of interactive discourse that occur in the language classroom, in particular) is also in evidence.

Jack Richards (the two parts of the name have fused inseparably) focusses on one of the 'bug-bears' of CLT: the teaching of formal grammar to language learners. Evidence from psycholinguistic research is extensively cited. As this is currently one of the most hotly debated questions in language teaching, we will not

diminish the reader's pleasure by revealing here the conclusions that the author reaches. All we can disclose for the present is that the truth is never simple!

Gibbons, in his paper on "Silence in the Communicative Syllabus", rather bravely offers battle to several of CLT's most renowned champions, notably Krashen. This discussion of one of the important issues in CLT ("silence *versus* interaction") serves to bring up some significant assumptions about the how of language learning.

The paper by Gonzalez, who has to his credit substantial research related to the wider socio-cultural dimensions of language education, serves to remind us yet again that the language classroom is, after all, a part of the socio-cultural milieu. Language teaching practices which contradict social realities have little chance of succeeding.

The remaining papers in this anthology, with one exception, have a predominantly pedagogic focus. Nation analyses the activities utilized for one particular form of CLT in order to highlight the learning processes that appear to be involved. Nababan makes use of his experience of producing teaching materials for Indonesia to reinforce the important point that the term "communicative" must be interpreted to suit the language requirements and policies of particular countries: "communication" does not imply only social interaction. Khong Chooi Peng's paper furnishes a valuable report on a major language project undertaken in the Southeast Asian region, which has many innovative features that could broadly be termed "communicative". Kirkpatrick, who has rich experience of language teaching conditions in Singapore, addresses himself directly to the practising English Language teacher and helps to raise a number of very relevant and significant issues in CLT. And the last paper, entitled "Language Learning on the Worksite", attempts to investigate if some of the basic assumptions made in CLT about how languages are learnt in "naturalistic" conditions are valid, by examining one particular kind of naturalistic learning.

We believe that readers will find this anthology of papers both useful and stimulating.

B.K.D.

Integrating the New and the Old in a Communicative Approach

WILLIAM T. LITTLEWOOD

What is a "Communicative Approach"

When we talk of a communicative approach, as I understand it, we are referring in the first instance to the *goals* of second language teaching rather than to methods or techniques: we want to equip learners with the ability to communicate. In this respect, the audio-lingual or audio-visual approaches could also be called "communicative", since they too set out to develop communicative ability. However, if we ask why they never have been so labelled, we begin to pinpoint the main feature that characterises what we now call a "communicative" approach: a realisation that *communication learning* is not the same as simply *language learning* but that there are other dimensions to be considered:

(a) new dimensions with respect to defining the *goal*: the skills that learners need to acquire are not limited to using the structure of the language, but also include other skills, concerned with how to relate these structures to their communicative function, in appropriate ways, in real situations;

(b) new dimensions with respect to the kinds of *learning activity* that are needed in order to achieve this goal: learning to communicate involves much more use of language for communication in real situations than was often assumed earlier. Also, learning not only takes place through conscious, controlled processes: another important aspect of language learning is the kind of subconscious acquisition which occurs, again, when people use language for communication.

In other words, a communicative approach represents above all a *widening of scope* in our view of the goal and of the range of appropriate activities. It does not mean that earlier ideas and techniques have suddenly become superseded. What it does mean, however, is that *all* ideas and technies — old and new — have to be re-

evaluated, within a new framework, in terms of our wider conception of communication and learning.

Some Sources of Confusion

The communicative approach has been influential for several years now and nobody can deny that it has brought about many exciting innovations, both in course design and in classroom methodology. On the other hand, it has also created confusion in certain respects. In its application to methodology, on which I propose to concentrate in this paper, I would mention three sources of confusion in particular:

1. First, because of the sudden new emphasis on communicative functions rather than forms of language, it has sometimes been taken as somehow providing an *alternative* to teaching the structural aspects of language. It is sometimes almost as if, by common consent of the language-teaching profession, language had suddenly ceased to be a system of structures, and it is this system, together with the vocabulary, that constitute the unknown elements for a person learning a new language. That is, it is not the functions themselves that a learner needs to master, but new ways of expressing these functions by means of a new language system.

2. Second, because of the realisation that learners need practice in communicating and that many traditional activities in the classroom do not themselves involve communication, it has sometimes been assumed that these traditional activities (such as drills or question-and-answer practice) must be rejected and *replaced* by activities which involve learners in "real communication". But this confuses the goal with the means. Even if the *goal* is communication, not every activity leading *towards* this goal has to involve communication. Like the swimmer or the piano-player, the second language learner may sometimes practise the separate *parts* of the total skill that he is aiming to improve.

3. A third way in which communicative language teaching has sometimes caused confusion is that it has often been presented to teachers as a collection of new "classroom tricks", especially tricks for setting up communication activities. There has often been less consideration of how these tricks fit into a coherent framework — how they relate to each other and other aspects of teaching. But however interesting and motivating they may be in themselves, even a

thousand such tricks would be of limited use to a teacher, so long as he has not clarified the rationale behind them and worked out, *for himself*, how they fit into a coherent approach. Only then can he locate them in his repertoire and deploy them appropriately with the goal in view.

It is with this problem of locating activities within a total methodological framework that I shall be concerned in this paper. The main question that I shall ask is this: Now that we have all these useful and exciting ideas for teaching communition, how *do* they relate (a) to each other and (b) to the more traditional techniques in the teacher's repertoire?

Two Models of Language Learning

Before we consider different components of a communicative methodology, it will be useful if I make clear my assumptions with regard to two models of language learning which are influential, and often compete with each other, in our discussions about methodology. We might call them the "skill-learning model" and the "natural learning model".

1. The skill-learning model is the one that we are most familiar with in language teaching. According to it, language use is a performance skill. Like other skills, such as swimming or playing the piano, it can be divided into components, or "part-skills", which can be trained and practised separately. In addition to this part-skill training, a learner must also be given opportunities for "whole-task practice", in which the individual parts are integrated with each other in performance of the total skill. The aim is, of course, to build up towards performance which is correct and automated. In the case of swimming, for example, the part-skills would include the separate arm and leg-movements, and the whole-task practice would involve the integration of all the movements in order to swim. In language teaching, part-skill training would include isolating items such as structures or sounds for separate practice. Whole-task practice would involve actual communication.

If we take this model, some implications of a communicative approach would be:

(a) We need to recognise a wider variety of part-skills than before, e.g. the ability to relate language forms to their possible functions, discourse skills such as producing cohesion in writing or

using "gambits" in conversation, or communication strategies such as the use of paraphrase.

(b) Traditional procedures such as drills, correction or explicit grammar teaching have to be related to our broader conception of what the "whole task" entails and re-evaluated accordingly. The emphasis placed upon them will vary accordingly and some may be abandoned.

In some cases we shall find that activities which were hitherto regarded as "whole-task practice" (e.g., translation or dialogue-writing) fall short of this and are more appropriately seen as part-skill training.

(c) A communicative approach emphasises the key importance of whole-task practice as a component that cannot be neglected. Involving learners in different kinds of communication in the classroom is an essential part of their overall learning experience, particularly for those who have no opportunities for this experience outside the classroom.

2. The natural learning model has developed as people have paid greater attention to language learning (first and second) outside the school and have noted how communication skills are acquired without conscious teaching, simply as a result of involvement in communication. The term "creative construction" is often used to describe how learners apparently create a system of rules for themselves from exposure to the language. Many writers, of whom the best known is now Stephen Krashen, argue that these natural processes of "acquisition" are *the* crucial factor in learning a language for spontaneous communication.

This model attaches no importance to part-skill training. The sequence of development is not, in any case, amenable to direct manipulation through teaching. It involves not a step-by-step assimilation of separate bits of the language but a global process through which the learner constructs his own rules to account for all the language input he receives. Transferred to the classroom, it means that we should not try to control the learning process directly through drilling, error correction and so on, but should concentrate our efforts on providing situations for communicative language use (productive and receptive) in which learners are motivated and able to process the language — for example, listening activities, communication tasks and role-playing activities.

On the importance of communicative interaction, then, the two models agree. It can be seen as whole-task practice in terms of skill learning, or as an opportunity for natural learning to take place. The main point of difference between the two models, so far as the implications for language teaching are concerned, lies in whether part-skill training performs a useful function. In other words, should teachers continue to involve learners in controlled practice such as drilling?

The ultimate answer to this question must come not from theory but from practice. Does it prove *feasible* to structure the classroom in such a way that efficient learning takes place through communicative language use alone, to the extent that part-skill training serves no function? Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell, in their so-called "natural approach", claim that we can. The same problem is being explored in the Bangalore project, in connection with a task-based or "procedural" syllabus. For the time being, however, an approach based on natural learning alone does not seem to have been operationalised in such a way that it can be adapted to a wide variety of teaching situations. In this paper, then, I will assume a framework in which the requirements of both models can be integrated:

1. Part-skill training (which we might also call "pre-communicative" activity);
2. Whole-task practice (or "communicative activity"), which also provides opportunities for the kind of natural acquisition envisaged by the natural learning model.

Core Components of a Communicative Methodology

We can now look at the framework (see Appendix) which I am proposing as one way of relating to each other some of the main components of a methodology leading towards communicative ability. It is obviously very simplified and contains only some of the "core" types of learning activity. However, I think that other kinds of activity can be related to these and thus located within the framework.

The framework is not intended to mirror the learning process itself. Nor is it meant to suggest any particular sequence for the different kinds of activity. Rather, it is meant to show how different kinds of activity relate to each other within a conceptual or methodological framework.

1. The bottom box, which I have called *Creative Language Use*, contains the kinds of activity that constitute the *goal* of second language learning. At the same time, as I said earlier, they are also important as learning activities in their own right. As such, they form a major component of our methodological framework.

Within the natural learning model — e.g., in the "natural approach" — this box represents the *only* essential component in the methodology, leading automatically to the acquisition of the language system and communication skills.

Within this component, of course — as with every other — grading can take place, though we have not yet established clear principles for grading different kinds of communicative language use.

2. The top box is *Internalisation of Structures and Vocabulary*. As I said, the natural approach sees this as following automatically from creative language use. In a sense, the audio-lingual approach made the opposite assumption: that creative language use follows automatically once the structures have been mastered. In so far as the grammar-translation approach is interested in communication at all, it too would assume a direct link from learning structures and vocabulary to using them for communication.

Here we should point out again that "internalisation" can be understood in different ways in different contexts. In discussing the kind of controlled practice that takes place in a skill-learning approach, it usually means the assimilation of structures which have been pre-determined by the syllabus. In discussing natural learning, on the other hand, it means that the learner is subconsciously constructing rules for himself. As I said, an awareness of the possibilities of this second kind of internalisation has grown strongly in recent years, though the idea was also stressed by Harold Palmer in the 1920s, when he spoke of the importance of using not only our 'studial capacities' but also our capacities for "spontaneous learning".

Internalisation of the language system is, of course, a prerequisite for using a language creatively. However, it is only in a part-skill approach that this box forms an actual component of the methodology, in which activities can be devoted specifically to clarifying or drilling aspects of the language system.

3. One of the ways in which the traditions of English language teaching in Europe and Asia have differed from the extreme audio-

lingual tradition in America is in the importance they have always attached to relating language to its *meaning*, e.g., by practising structures in situations set up in the classroom or provided by pictures.

One outcome of the communicative approach is that teachers are now very much aware of *two* important kinds of meaning:

(a) On the one hand, there is the *Conceptual or Referential* meaning of language: the relationship between language and concepts and how language matches the real world around us. For example, if I say "*This tea is cold*", at this level of meaning I am simply referring to a state of affairs in the world. Language provides both a conceptual grid through which I can view this world and a means for expressing what I want to say about it.

(b) On the other hand, there is the *Communicative Function* of the language: how I am using the language to carry out communicative acts in society. Thus when I say "This tea is cold", I may be simply describing a state of affairs for somebody else's benefit. (In the language classroom, this is what a student might typically be doing.) But there are many other communicative acts that the words might perform. For example, they might constitute a request or demand for a fresh cup (e.g., in a cafe), a complaint, or a reproach. They might be intended to indicate that somebody must have left the room a long time ago.

Recently, attention has been fixed particularly on this second kind of meaning. We have been in danger of forgetting the importance of the first. In a recent paper Jack Richards calls it "propositional meaning" and argues that "the first task in learning to communicate in a language is to learn how to create propositions" (1983: 111) about the real world. It is in this context, it seems to me, that our communicative methodology still needs the techniques of "situational language teaching" or the "structural-situational method" — that is, the familiar battery of techniques by which questions are asked and answered about the classroom situation, pictures, texts, or other aspects of common knowledge.

These *Situational Techniques* have been one of the mainstays of English language teaching, for both oral and written practice, but have been one of the main targets for criticism by some supporters of functional approaches. The basic criticism is that they are artificial and non-communicative — why should anybody want to ask and answer questions about facts which everybody knows in any case?

Seen from the viewpoint of everyday communication, these criticisms are valid. However, our concern is with *learning* communication and, as I said earlier, not every activity for *learning* communication need be communicative itself. From the learning viewpoint, then, it seems to me that situational techniques perform two very important functions:

1. A *linguistic* function: they help learners to internalise the structures and vocabulary of the language.

2. A *conceptual* function: they help learners to relate the new language to their conceptual structures and to their vision of the world, which they have so far related only to their mother tongue. In some cases, this may involve learners in adapting their concepts and their world-view, in order to form new "cognitive habits". This internal, conceptual aspect of language learning has often been neglected in recent years, in favour of the external, social-functional aspect.

3. We have just seen that situational techniques can still perform important functions. As with all other techniques, however, they also have their limitations, especially when measured against the kind of communication which provides the goal and ultimate motivation for language learning. Can we compensate for some of these limitations by providing additional activities in which the information being talked about is *not* already known to everybody?

This is where we come to a set of techniques which have become closely associated with communicative language teaching, namely communication tasks or what I here call *Information Exchange Tasks*. In methodological terms, they are closely related to the situational techniques just discussed, but with the added dimension of an information gap which has to be bridged by exchanging information about, say, a picture or a map. This is necessary because not all students have the same information at their disposal.

Many such activities are now available to teachers and I will give just one example in order to show the link with situational techniques. Let us say that a picture has been used as a basis for language practice of the familiar kind. The learners have practised a range of structures and vocabulary, relating them to aspects of reality, but have not used them to transmit meanings for a communicative purpose. We can build in this additional dimension by producing a second set of pictures, identical to the first except that some of the items have been deleted. Half of the learners have the complete pic-

ture and the others have the altered version. The learners with the complete picture must ask questions (perhaps using the same language that was practised earlier) in order to discover which items have been deleted from the second set of pictures.

Many other ways of creating tasks which involve the exchange of information are now available. By grading these tasks, introducing different interaction patterns and adding elements such as problem-solving, we can require more elaborated and creative uses of language. In this way we move further into the domain of communicative language use, which is the goal. Thus, by building on the relationship between language and conceptual meaning, through techniques of situational practice and information exchange of various kinds, our methodological framework provides one set of links between learning structures and creative language use.

We will now look at another set of links, starting from the other important aspect of meaning: *Communicative Function*.

4. We spoke earlier about the criticisms of situational techniques when these are measured against the nature of real communication. Another reaction to these limitations is to focus on the other important aspect of meaning — *Communicative Function* — and cater for the learners' need to practise a variety of communicative functions, using socially appropriate forms. In selecting communicative functions to be practised, we can draw on an inventory such as that of the Council of Europe, which has been used as the basis for many syllabuses and course-books.

We thus have the possibility of what I call in the diagram *Functional Techniques*, in which the learners' attention is focussed not on a particular structure but on a particular communicative function. For example, we can have controlled practice in which learners are instructed to make a series of suggestions or ask directions to a number of places, using forms which have just been taught.

Like situational practice, this is a form of part-skill training. We should also note that as a learning activity, it is no more "realistic" or "communicative than question-and-answer practice about pictures. It simply picks on a different dimension of meaning for the main focus of the practice.

The dotted line indicates that there is no sharp distinction between situational and functional techniques. The former could be seen, indeed, as providing practice of the communicative functions

"asking and giving information". Also, with functional techniques, the element of mapping language onto the real world is often introduced when, for example, visual cues are used as a way of indicating to the learner what suggestions he should make or what place he should ask for directions to. Generally, however, there is a difference in the main focus of situational and functional techniques, which is often reflected in the way the activity is presented to students.

At this point, it is useful to compare how situational and functional techniques treat grammatical aspects of language.

(a) Structural-situational techniques, as we know, take grammar as their main input. Basing this input on a graded progression, the aim is to lead learners to a full insight into the patterns they are practising. They are generally expected to know what grammatical role each word is performing, so that they can manipulate all the elements in new sentences.

(b) Functional techniques, on the other hand, often work with what one might call a "slot-and-filler" approach to grammar. In this, learners may only have a limited insight into the system of the language they are using, but have to fill individual slots with language items relevant to the function they are practising. We can compare this with the 'prefabricated patterns' which have been observed in child language acquisition. As with prefabricated patterns, one result of this approach to grammar is that communicatively useful pieces of language can be mastered at very early stages in the course. What is not clear, is the role that such pieces of language perform in enabling learners to internalise, eventually, the system which underlies the language.

I do not believe that these two approaches to grammar are necessarily in conflict with each other. In fact, they seem to complement each other. Through structural-situational techniques, learners can acquire insight into the system, but they may be limited in their capacity to use this system appropriately for a variety of communicative functions. Through functional techniques, learners can develop a capacity to relate language to its functions, but they may develop only limited insight into the underlying system and therefore be restricted in their creative ability. By a balanced mixture of techniques, we may hope to lead learners to both linguistic competence and competence in performing communicative functions.

Since we have just mentioned two perspectives on grammatical

aspects of language, we should perhaps also mention again the important third perspective touched earlier: the internalisation of grammar as a process of spontaneous acquisition through communication.

5. Functional techniques such as the ones just discussed attempt to simulate, on a small scale, real-life contexts in which people express the communicative functions in question. If a learner can adopt the most appropriate psychological set towards the task, he will imagine himself in the role of a person who 'makes suggestions' or 'asks directions' in everyday situations. Of course, the constraints on the learner to make this imaginative leap are not strong when the activity consists only of a series of unconnected acts of suggesting or asking: there is no coherent situation in which the learner can believe and, in particular, he has little or no freedom to choose what meanings he wants to express. If we want the learners to invest more of themselves in the activity, we must engage them in activities where the simulated context is more strongly reinforced and there is more choice, so that they begin to express communicative intentions which are real to them. This moves us into the domain of *Role-playing tasks*, another important component of a communicative methodology.

The degree of choice or personal involvement can of course vary. At its simplest level, learners may be allowed some choice in (say) what suggestions to make or how to respond to a partner's suggestions during pair-work. At more creative levels, learners may be given more general instructions which provide the framework for the interaction but also supply a large amount of scope for individual decisions. The demands of the communication may also be increased as more complex interaction patterns are required or more difficult social conventions are imposed. In this way we move further towards the kinds of communication (or "whole-task practice") which constitute the goal of learning and another set of links has been completed in our methodological framework.

The role-playing element on the right-hand branch means that, usually, an important factor is to use language which suits whatever social conventions govern the role that the learner should identify with. This may create learning problems when a learner is expected to conform to social conventions which are in conflict with his own personality patterns. In other words, just as the left-hand branch

might involve the learner in adapting his *cognitive habits* to suit the new language system, so the right-hand branch might involve the learner in adapting aspects of his *personality* to suit new conventions of social expression. The extent to which courses should try to achieve this is one of the problematic areas of communicative language teaching. It depends, presumably, on the learner's own goals within his own learning situation.

The dotted line in the diagram indicates another link between the two branches of the methodology. Role-playing tasks may be structured in such a way that, in their roles, learners have to exchange information for a purpose. Conversely, an information-exchange becomes simultaneously a role-playing task, if the learners are asked to adopt specific social roles during the interaction.

Conclusion

As I said at the outset, I believe that one of our most important tasks is to work out ways in which we can integrate the many ideas and techniques now at our disposal, to form a coherent approach in which the old and the new have their appropriate place. My aim in this paper has been to outline one suggestion for a methodological framework in which we can conceptualise how some of the important techniques support each other and relate to each other in an overall system for helping learners to develop communicative skills.

Finally, I would like to make the point that provided we work within a methodological framework which relates the various components to each other, it may not matter whether the initial input from the syllabus to the methodology is provided in terms of grammar, functions or, perhaps, even communicative tasks. Whatever the nature of the syllabus input, the links within the framework will enable us to cater in appropriate ways for the other aspects of language, language use and language learning.

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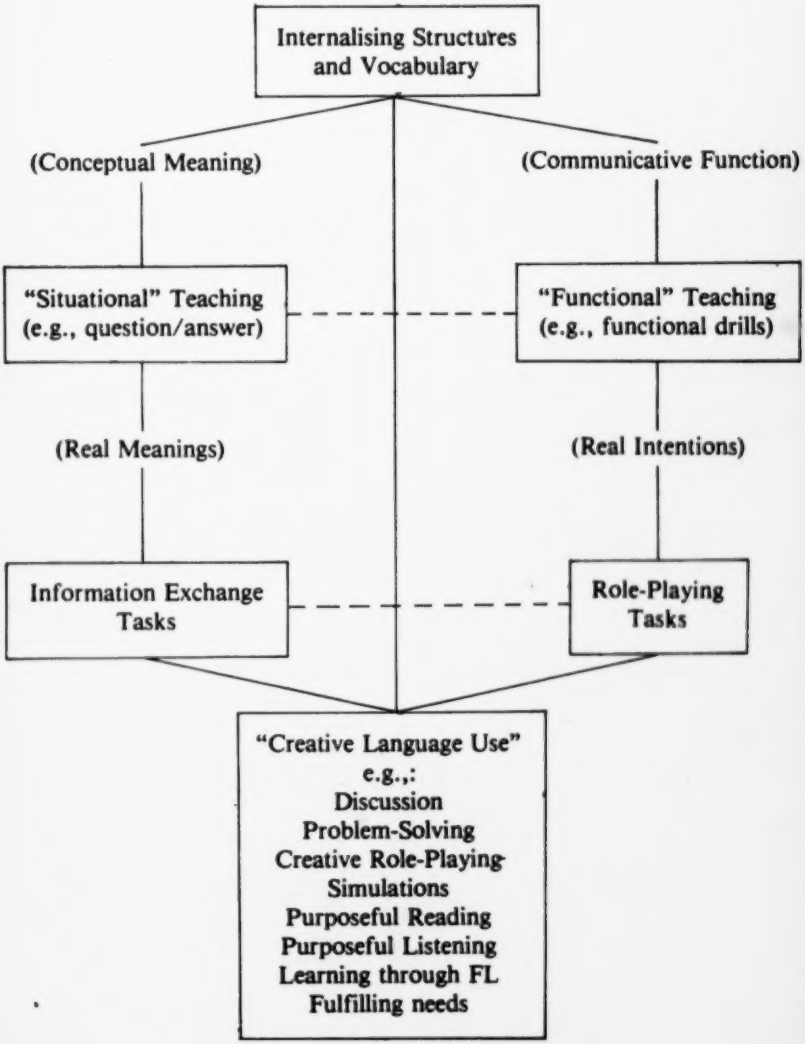
APPENDIX

Core Components of Communicative Methodology



Communicative Competence and Language Teaching: Second Thoughts

CHRISTINA BRATT PAULSTON

Introduction and Background

It is frequently commented that it takes some twenty years for new academic concepts and insights to become commonplace in the teaching of our public schools. That is also the case with the notion of communicative competence and language teaching. Twenty years ago, in 1964, Gumperz and Hymes edited a special issue of the *American Anthropologist* with the title of "The Ethnography of Communication" (Gumperz and Hymes, 1964). This publication was the basis of their later *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (1972) of which "the theoretical goal ... is best illustrated by the notion of communicative competence: what a speaker needs to know to communicate effectively in culturally significant settings" (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972: vii). Ten years ago I wrote an article "Linguistic and Communicative Competence" (1974) which I believe was the first attempt to work out the implications for language teaching from Dell Hymes' notion of communicative competence (1972). The time has come to take stock.

The concern for communicative language teaching surfaced on both sides of the Atlantic as early as the late sixties (Oller and Obrecht, 1968; Jakobovits, 1969; Rutherford, 1968; Wardhaugh, 1969; etc.) Partially it was a reaction against the mechancial nature and boring activity of drills in the audio-lingual method, but communicative competence was also a counter-concept to Chomsky's (1957) notion of competence in theoretical linguistics. In my own work, I joined an insistence on using language at least some of the time for communicative purposes (1970), with, later, a rationale firmly based on Hymes' communicative comptence (1974).

What do we mean by communicative competence in language teaching? People mean two different things with it, and it is often confusing because it is not clear which definition they have in mind.

Rivers (1973) and those who work with foreign language teaching in the United States tend to define communicative competence as simply linguistic interaction in the target language: "the ability to function in a truly communicative setting; that is, in a spontaneous transaction involving one or more other persons" (Savignon, 1978: 12). People who work in ESL, on the other hand, tend to use communicative competence in Hymes' sense to include not only the linguistic forms of the language but also its social rules, the knowledge of when, how, and to whom it is appropriate to use these forms. In the latter view, the objectives of language teaching are held to include the socio-cultural rules for language use, not as an added cultural component, but as an integral part of the language taught. To wit, there are rules in American Engligh not only for forming grammatically correct wh-questions but also for the topic of questions which are admissable and socially appropriate. A Japanese banker some years ago when I was promoted to associate professor asked me how old I was to be so promoted. I simply did not answer his question because I thought it was both inappropriate and inadmissable. I told him instead that age had nothing to do with it which he, in his turn, found a very peculiar remark.

Finally, in addition to these two common definitions of communicative competence in language teaching, for purposes of research, Canale and Swain (1979, 1980) in their review of the literature on communicative competence suggest three subcomponents: grammatical, discourse, and sociolinguistic competence which together make up communicative competence. Grammatical competence is just that, a knowledge of lexical items and the rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology (1979: 54). Discourse competence is "defined as the ability to produce and recognize coherent and cohesive text (1983: 5)", while sociolinguistic competence is "defined as the ability to produce and recognize socially appropriate language within a given sociocultural context (1983: 9), i.e., Hymes' social rules of language use. This tripartite definition makes possible a more precise testing in the proficiency of communicative competence.

The title of this conference *Communicative Language Teaching* (CLT) wisely begs the question and allows whatever definition you choose to work with. That choice is important and will to a considerable degree decide goals and objectives as well as syllabi and

curriculum of language teaching. In the remainder of this paper I will use communicative competence as I have always done to refer to the anthropological sense of socio-cultural rules for language use and use CLT primarily to refer to spontaneous oral interaction in general.

Methods and Language Teaching

Now, there is very little new in language teaching as a quick perusal of Kelly's *25 Centuries' of Language Teaching* will attest to. St. Augustine introduced the use of "dialogs", these were pattern drills in the Middle Ages; the scholatics taught patterns of politeness and rudeness in a sort of notional/functional approach (only, of course, they didn't call it that), grammar-translation goes back to the Greeks and before. Even the Hittites 2000 BC did grammar translation. There is a limit on what a teacher can do to a class; there are just so many activities students can undertake in a classroom, and with the exception of new technological advances, there is very little new at the technique level. (Except, maybe, the Silent Way.)

What does change is the combination and constellation of techniques into methods as well as all the theories that attempt to account for them. The fact of the matter is that we really don't know how to account for language acquisition, and so we have a lot of theories which come and go. We also have some remarkable methods at present and you can make the case that communicative language teaching is a method. How do we take stock?[1]

Jack Richards (1983) in his plenary TESOL address "The Secret Life of Methods" points out that facts have very little to do with the evaluation of methods:

> This rarely followed option involves empirical demonstration of the validity of a method's claims, for example, through documented research which demonstrates precisely what learners achieve as a result of instruction. This route is difficult to carry out, and since its findings may not necessarily be the ones we hoped for, there is not a single serious piece of research published to demonstrate precisely what learners learn from a Notional syllabus, from Communicative Language Teaching, Silent Way, or most of the other methods which countless journal articles advocate with such enthusiasm (Richards, 1983: 11).

Richards is right, with one exception, that we really have no data as to teaching efficacy to support all the enthusiastic claims of this spate of new sometimes called humanistic methods. The exception is communicative language teaching. As early as 1968, Oller and Obrecht (1968) concluded from an experimental study that communicative activity should be a central point of pattern drills from the very first stages of language learning. Savignon's widely cited dissertation in 1971 confirmed beyond doubt that language learning which used language for purpose of communication, for getting messages across, was a more efficient process of learning than the audiolingual type pattern drills. But Richards is right that we don't know how communicative language teaching compares with any of the other recent methods on the basis of facts. It seems inconceivable to me that some of these new methods would be a more efficient way of teaching language but there are no data to prove it one way or the other.

So stock taking in a scientific fashion based on hard data from experimental comparisons becomes impossible. How then can I make a judgment? Basically, I can know in two ways acceptable to academics: through pratical experience and empirical evidence or through theoretical speculations or knowledge of others' theory and model building, the linking of constructs into propositions and interrelated hypotheses. Teachers have in time honored fashion through trial-and-error sorted out in their classroom what will and will not work, even though they do not necessarily know why and how it works. It is an empiricism, born of the necessity of the teaching situation, which is basically divorced from theory. As such, it has very little prestige in Academia. Prestige lies with theoretical speculations of the kind which allows me to reason e.g., that the importance of the role which we assign these days to input in the language acquisition process will argue against a method which limits the teacher's utterance of a new word to one occurrance as it does in the Silent Way. Preferably you want your theory to explain your empirical data, but if I had to choose one or the other — and I am now only talking about language teaching and learning of which we know so very little — I would prefer the judgement of common sense classroom teachers to that of theoretical speculations. Ignoring teacher judgements can be an expensive proposition.

Current theories of language acquisition very much support communicative activities in the classroom but there are no learning

theories which can be stretched to motivate communicative competence in Hymes' sense. The theories for the latter come from anthropology and support *what* should be taught, not *how*. Since we can draw on neither learning theories nor empirical evidence, we are reduced to practical experience and common sense in making our claims and judgement about communicative competence in language teaching, no more, no less.

I want to conclude this section of my paper with two comments on methods in general. One is that methods probably are not very important in accounting for language learning results. Given the social setting and the super/subordinate relationship between ethnic groups which contribute to one learning the other's language, given what it takes to provide opportunity and motivation, it is very unlikely that methods will play any greater importance. That is probably another reason[2] why it is so difficult to get conclusive evidence in experimental design research comparing various methods. As Lennart Levin concluded, tongue-in-cheek, after a major Swedish study "All methods are best" (1969).

The other comment is to explain the at times puzzling popularity of many of the new methods. You can with Kuhn (1971) talk of paradigm shift in the sciences and sketch the anatomy of the Chomskyan revolution which did have a great influence in toppling the audiolingual school of thought, or you can simply talk of fashions in language teaching which like our skirts go up and down. Skirt lengths have nothing to do with common sense and Suggestopedia is in vogue.[3] Nor does it have anything to do with common sense.

Second Thoughts

Where does all this leave us with language teaching and communicative competence? I do indeed have second thoughts. I regret to say that I think we have gone too far, and that the swing of the pendulum of high fashion has carried us off the Middle Road of good judgement and common sense. I have three reasons for this concern.

The first two reasons both have to do with the material to be taught, with the specific teaching points. I am not here really concerned with whether the syllabus should be organized according to a structural/linguistic content or according to functions and speech acts, although that is a very important matter that has never been

satisfactorily worked out.[4]

The problem lies with the basic description of speech acts and the rules for their usage. The ten years since I wrote "Linguistic and Communicative Competence" I have partly spent directing and supervising M.A. theses on speech acts and the teaching of English. If native speakers after two years of intense study of theoretical and applied linguistics and sociolinguistics not only do not themselves know these rules but also find immense difficulties in ascertaining and describing them, maybe we should be a little more careful than I was ten years ago in globally prescribing a communicative competence approach in language teaching.

The difficulty of description does not basically lie at the theoretical level. Hymes' framework is holding up very well and further work, like Brown and Levinson (1978) add useful support.

The difficulty lies partially in the difficulty of observation and collection of data and in the selection of variables which influence language manifestations. Labov's paradox of how you observe unobserved behavior is of concern here. At present a student of mine is studying rejoinders to *thank you*. Degree of formality is likely to be a variable and she can in all likelihood collect data in situations where setting will trigger register, like court and church. But social class is also likely to be a variable and she simply will not be able to unobstrusively observe in-group upper class behaviour in Pittsburgh. This is not the place to discuss how you deal with such problems but they are very real and very much there.

Another difficulty lies with the variability of the communicative competence rules. The range of rejoinders to *thank you* surprises me, not just the American *you are welcome* (dialectical variation) but *ah ha* and *OK* (generational variation?), the latter which I would until recently have denied as native usage. In order to teach communicative competence, core norms, which are hard to find, must be captured and given a significant generalization. What happens very often is that teachers disagree with the rules in the text, refuse to teach them and criticize the text, a situation which is very confusing to the students. Teaching communicative competence is not as simple as we once thought.

The second reason for my concern about teaching English for communicative competence in a city like Singapore is the problem of whose rules. In Pittsburgh that is easy. Our students in the English

Language Institute do need to learn general American rules for using language in interaction and negotiating meaning in socially appropriate ways. Our Latin American students need not only to know the phrase for *thank you* but also that they shouldn't repeat it ten times because then they sound insincere in English, and our Japanese students will have to learn to turn down requests from superiors. A while back I wanted to change an appointment with a doctoral student who happened to be Japanese, asked if she could come right after class instead of 2 p.m. as we had planned, she said yes and came. Months later in a report to our sociolinguistic class, she treated this episode as data, went on to relate that she had had a luncheon date with a friend waiting on a street corner, but Japanese rules made it impossible for her to say no to me. (Luckily the friend was Japanese too and understood why she was stood up). I, of course would never even think it noticeable if she had told me that she had another appointment. The point of this anecdote is that living in a specific culture, your life can become unnecessarily complicated without attention to the communicative competence rules of language.

When I lived in Lima and made an appointment with a Peruvian, I always said "Your rules or mine?" so I would know whether to be on time or late. They always understood what I meant and themselves routinely used the expressions *hora latina*, *hora gringa* "latin time, foreign time" for clarification. The point here is that one set of rules was not perceived as better than another, it was simply a practical matter of clearing noise in the channel, of functioning with the same rules.

But for a Swede being on time[5] is not just a practical concern but one of moral implications. To be late is to show moral weakness, and so it is with many of the communicative competence rules that they don't only signal social meaning but that they also reflect the values and belief system of the culture in which they are operative. My Japanese student's inability to say no to me was not just a question of quaint etiquette but is solidly founded on Japanese worldview and value system. .

Now maybe you are beginning to see my concern. To insist in Singapore that speakers behave with English in a way that is culturally appropriate in the United States and which reflects American values is just plain silly. In the first place, there are perfectly

legitimate — and different — British and Australian ways of using English that cannot just be ignored. In the second place, English is an official language in Singapore, and as Braj Kachru has argued for years for Indian English, Singaporean English has a right to its own life, to its own local communicative competence. To argue anything else sounds to me very much like cultural imperialism, and I hope nobody took seriously the article of mine which RELC published a few years ago (1979). I recant. I think now that English belongs every bit as much to those who use it as a lingua franca, as a language of wider communication (LCW), as it does to the English-speaking peoples. The use of English in Singapore is an economic and political statement of citizens of the free world, not a cultural orientation toward Britain or the United States.

In the third place, it is silly because it is unrealistic. Asian culture is enormously tenacious, and even if every USIS and British Council member descended on Singapore to preach the virtues of a communicative competence approach in ESL, I doubt that it would make any difference. People in Singapore — and India and Nigeria and Hong Kong — will go on speaking English with the communicative competence rules of their native tongue,[6] and I think we should accept that fact as a positive state of affairs.

Finally, my third reason for concern applies to all communicative language teaching, not just to matters of communicative competence. It concerns teacher competencies. As Richards and Rodgers (1981) discuss in an excellent article on methods of language teaching, different methods require different roles of teachers and students. In the audiolingual method, the teacher controlled all activities, and closely tied to his textbook, he conducted the orchestra of his class. Breen and Candlin discuss the role of the teacher in a communicative approach which is to facilitate communication and act as independent participant:

> These roles imply a set of secondary roles for the teacher; first, as an organizer of resources and as a resource himself, second, as a guide within the classroom procedures and activities...A third role for the teacher is that of researcher and learner, with much to contribute in terms of appropriate knowledge and abilities, actual and observed experience of the nature of learning, and organizational capacities (1980:99).

In short, what communicative language teaching requires (much as the Direct Method did before it) in order to be effective is teachers with near-native competence in English. It is all very well to have communicative language teaching be the rage in Britain and the United States where the teachers are native speakers of English but quite another matter to export it to parts of the world which routinely use non-native speakers in English. I don't know how many of you have ever taught a language you knew imperfectly but I remember vividly teaching French in Pine Island, Minnesota. The textbook was my lifeline and I certainly did not encourage student questions about vocabulary items as the likelihood that I wouldn't know the answer was high. It is just plain scary for teachers to be in front of a class and not know what they are teaching. Add to the requirement of teacher fluency in the target language, cultural values (Furey, 1980) of saving face and the position of teachers in the social hierarchy, (i.e. teachers command high respect and it is difficult for them to admit to ignorance), and it seems to me that a great deal of caution is needed in adopting a communicative approach in ESL in Southeast Asia. A demoralized teacher corps is not conducive to effective language teaching.

Effective Classroom Techniques

I suggested earlier that methods are not very important, so maybe a method of communicative language teaching does not make much difference. But I do think that techniques and procedures in language teaching *are* important, that classroom activities and how they are conducted *will* influence learning. I say that methods are not important because there is no one to one relationship between method and techniques. For instance, dialogs in language teaching have been around since St. Augustine's days and have been used in different methods for different purposes.

What I would like to do at this point is to examine some features of effective classroom activities from an unusual ethnographic descriptive study of bilingual education. I want to do this in order to see how many of these features we find in communicative language learning. The Significant Bilingual Instructional Features (SBIF) study is a three-year study, funded by the (U.S.) National Institute of Education, and just completed. The intent of the study is "to provide important information that will increase understanding

of bilingual instruction, and subsequently increase opportunities for students with limited or no proficiency in English to participate fully and successfully in the educational process" (Tikunoff, 1983:v). It will eventually become available though ERIC, but in the meantime I would like to share some of the findings and their implications for ESL and communicative language teaching as I think it is an important study.

In contrast to all the experimental-design, psychometric studies of language teaching methods, this study identified successful teachers[7] and then observed their fifty-eight classrooms for significant instructional features[8]. Five features were found to be significant and they all have to do with teaching behaviors rather than curriculum or materials. (See Appendix.) "Regardless of variation in programmes, curriculum and materials, school district policies, philosophies of instruction, and ethnolinguistic groups, the teachers in the sample exhibited all five features frequently and consistently" (Tikunoff, 1983:6). It may be fashionable to minimize the teacher's role in the classroom, but I think it is a serious mistake. The SBIF study documents beyond any reasonable doubt the importance of teacher behavior, not of methods and materials but of classroom procedures and activities.

In discussing the SBIF findings, I will extrapolate those features which relate to language learning. The SBIF study was concerned with successful learning in general.

In reading through the fifteen documents of the study, my strongest impression was that *the* most important teaching characteristic is efficient classroom management. I think most of us would agree that one of the teacher's major roles is to structure the school environment so that the students can learn, which is what good classroom management does. Good teaching allows for both learning and acquisition.[9] Learning would include activities which focused on form, such as reading aloud in English with the focus on sound-symbol relationship, working with vocabulary cards, copying sentences where the right word had to be filled in (these activities are taken from the SBIF study), while acquisition presumably takes place during activities where the focus is on the content or function of language, such as free compositions, role plays, and interaction activities. The acquisition process is in fact the major theoretical rationale for a communicative approach, and the evidence is quite clear that without a stage of language use for communication, language teaching is not very efficient (Savignon, 1971; Swain, 1983). It is the

teacher's job to arrange for both types of activities in the classroom.

Good teachers make very clear what tasks and exercises they set and what the students must do to accomplish these tasks. They were careful to explain, outline, summarize and review. The teachers also gave a lot of attention to vocabulary work. In second language acquisition, learners probably focus on vocabulary and then work out the semantic relationship between lexical items (and the grammar) from their pragmatic knowledge of the real world. In any case, it is clear from the SBIF study that good teachers spend a lot of energy, their own and students', on vocabulary development. The easiest way for a student to understand the meaning of a new word in the L2 is through translation to his mother tongue, and the SBIF teachers routinely used the children's mother tongue if they got lost or confused. Half the time this was to individual students and it was a reiteration or translation of what they had not understood in English the first time. Clearly the ESL teacher needs to exercise judgment here. We certainly don't want long linguistic lectures in the L1 but on the other hand we don't want long linguistic lectures in English either. If a gloss or two or a brief sentence in the L1 would save time and clarify, then I think it is justified. If some students get lost during a roleplay, then a quick sotto voce L1 explanation might be helpful. What is perfectly clear is that the students must understand what is going on.

They must also work. The SBIF study measured Academic Learning Time (ALT), the time a student is productively engaged in completing assigned tasks at a relatively high rate of accuracy. These students were productively engaged for as much as 82 per cent of the time, which is amazingly high in that it only allows the teacher 18 per cent of the time for instruction, explanations, directions, etc. The most common fault of language teachers is teacher talk. The most appealing aspect of communicative language teaching is that the very method dictates against teacher talk. (And I have also had teachers who say that they don't like to do role plays with their class because it leaves them out, they are not center of the stage any more.) But whatever the method, it is the students who need to process language, not the teacher. Swain argues convincingly in a recent paper that comprehensible output is as necessary a source for grammatical acquisition as is comprehensible input (1983). Good language teachers keep their students working hard on tasks they understand and which are intrinsically interesting to them.

Now the truth of the matter is that most normal people don't find language learning tasks very interesting. One of the advantages of communicative language teaching is that many of the classroom

activities are a lot more interesting than grammar drills and fill-in-the-slot exercises so that whether or not the students learn any more, motivation and attention remain higher. But any activity done too long or too often will stale and that is every bit as true of role plays as of dialogs. The answer lies with a multiple of activities and a change of pace. Keeping students working hard and willingly on task is very much the art of teaching but it also takes careful planning and structure.

Good teachers also make sure that students know what constitutes successful performance so that they know when they are achieving success or they are given access to information about how to achieve success. ALT specifies a high degree of accuracy and the SBIF findings are the "students who are reponding incorrectly to a task need immediate feedback concerning those responses" (Tikunoff, 1983b, 12). This is true for reading and mathematics, but linguists see errors as an inevitable by-product of second language acquisition. This leaves the question of what teachers are supposed to do with errors in the classroom.

One argument is immediate feedback and correction, as the study findings suggest. The opposite is argued by Terrell (1981) who claims that students will learn only if they feel secure affectively and that therefore error correction is ineffectual and tension creating and that students should be left alone to experiment creatively with the second language. There are no experimental data on the role of error correction in L2 acquisition in bilingual education so once again the ESL teacher has to make decisions based on judgment rather than fact.

The guidelines we use for correction in the English Language Institute are the following: If the error is directly part of the teaching point, whether formal like the pronunciation of plurals of functional like the use of present habitual or present progressive, it is helpful in clarifying input to provide immediate feedback and correction. I don't believe that error correction needs to be tension creating; errors and correction are part of school life. But when errors occur incidentally to what is being taught, and they don't interfere with communication or classroom procedures, then I think they are not very important and can be safely ignored. As usual, tact and common sense will tell us more about error correction than research will at the present.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings from the SBIF study make the fol-

lowing reflections seem feasible. Good teachers do make a difference. Methods and materials[10] are not as important as principles of meaningful and interesting activities, on-task focus, clear activity objectives and comprehensible feedback. To the degree that teachers can incorporate these principles in their classroom activities, their students should learn English, but it seems that communicative language teaching by its nature already does or easily can incorporate all of these features. A communicative competence approach to language teaching in Singapore may not be very sensible, but hopefully an approach to language teaching which incorporates genuine communication in the classroom will prove to be more than a fad.

NOTES

1. I don't want to get side tracked into discussing methods but it is clear that different methods do different things: the notional/functional syllabus specifies the teaching points but with no word about HOW to teach them; community counselling learning modifies the role of relationship between teacher and student into counselor and client but leaves syllabus unspecified; grammar/translation specified both teaching points and activities but never dealt with how the teacher would get that mass of linguistic information (often faulty) across to the students. The audiolingual method was rare in its attention to all aspects of language teaching: syllabus, teacher behaviour, student behaviour, classroom activities, linguistic description, and indeed what went on in the heads of the students.

   Communicative language teaching as a method specifies the nature of the classroom interaction/activities and sometimes the teaching points (primarily in the units of speech acts) (e.g., Munby, 1978).

   Francis Johnson points out that since methods in fact attempt different things, it is frequently misleading to compare methods. His point is that a method which has its main objective helping children learn language acquisition strategies should not be compared with a method whose objective is the memorization of vocabulary and grammar rules, using the same criteria of evaluation (personal communication, April, 1984). I quite agree.
2. The first being that methods do different things and are therefore difficult to compare on the same results.
3. The reasons for that vogue is another matter. The need for new dissertation topics and tenure is one probable reason. I suspect teachers just plain get bored doing the same thing year in and year out, i.e., classroom experimentation as a way of self renewal.
4. My own preference for adult learners is for a syllabus organized according to a structural/linguistic content, where the criteria for selection and sequencing of patterns derive from functions firmly grounded in situations which are based on a needs assessment where possible.
5. More than five minutes past the appointed time is beginning to be late. Since such

split second timing is difficult in the modern world, Swedes often arrive early and walk around the block so that they can enter at the exact time.

6. Or some combination of rules of local languages.
7. The teachers were nominated as successful by principals, teachers, and parents.
8. "To be significant, an instructional feature had to meet four criteria. First, it has to be relevant in the research literature in terms of positive instructional consequences for LEP students. Second, it had to have occurred frequently and to a high degree in the classes. Third, it must have been identified by teachers in the sample during their analysis of their own instruction as being significant....Fourth, during analysis, features or clusters of features had to be associated with desirable consequences for LEP students" (Tikunoff, 1983:6).
9. Learning is the result of teaching while acquisition results from the student's processing of meaningful language input. (Krashen, 1981). Many believe that without the opportunity for acquisition, a second language is not likely to be mastered.
10. This is only true for excellent teachers who have native-like fluency in the target language. Teachers with less than native-like fluency tend to rely heavily on their textbooks.

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APPENDIX

Five Instructional Features

The five instructional features identified in Part I as significant for the instruction of LEP students are described as follows.

1. Successful teachers of LEP students exhibit a *congruence of instructional intent, organization and delivery of instruction, and student consequences*. They specify task outcomes and what students must do to accomplish tasks competently. In addition, they communicate (a) high expectations for LEP students in terms of learning, and (b) a sense of efficacy in terms of their own ability to teach.
2. Successful teachers of LEP students, like effective teachers generally, exhibit *use of "active teaching" behaviours* which have been found to be related to increase student performance on academic tests of achievement in reading and mathematics. These active teaching behaviours include (a) communicating clearly when giving directions, specifying tasks, and presenting new information — communication may involve such strategies as explaining, outlining, or demonstrating; (b) obtaining and maintaining students' engagement in instructional tasks by pacing instruction appropriately, promoting involvement, and communicating their expectations for students' success in completing instructional tasks; (c) monitoring students' progress and (d) providing immediate feedback whenever required regarding the students' success.
3. Successful teachers of LEP students mediate instruction for LEP students by the *use of the students' native language (L1) and English (L2) for instruction*, alternating between the two languages whenever necessary to ensure clarity of instruction for LEP students.
4. Successful teachers of LEP students mediate instruction for LEP students by the *integration of English language development with basic skills instruction*, focusing on LEP students acquiring English terms for concepts and lesson content even when L1 is used for a portion of the instruction.
5. Successful teachers of LEP students mediate instruction in a third way by the *use of information from the LEP students' home culture*. They (a) utilize cultural referents during instruc-

tion, (b) organize instruction to build upon participant structures from the LEP students' home culture, and (c) observe the values and norms of the LEP students' home culture even as the norms of the majority culture are being taught.

Source: (Tikunoff, 1983: 6–7)

Communicative Teaching: "Communicative" in what Sense?

N.S. PRABHU

This paper is an attempt to identify and discuss the different senses in which the term "communicative" has been used in recent proposals and materials for language teaching. The analysis is conceptual, not historical.

The first concept I want to discuss is that communicative teaching consists of adding a new component to existing pedagogic procedures and perhaps also a redistribution of emphases in those procedures. Specifically, the practice stage of a lesson or teaching unit based on a pre-selected linguistic input (e.g., a structural item) should, it is thought, not rely any more on drill-like exercises or sets of parallel but semantically unrelated contexts but should employ, instead, communicative exercises. A communicative exercise is defined, for this purpose, either loosely in terms of larger contexts, texts instead of sentences, games, simulations and roleplay, or more precisely, as in Johnson (1982: 163–75) in terms of an information-gap, information-transfer, task-dependency etc. What is considered important is that the learner is engaged in a meaning-focused activity and handles the language-form he has been taught a little earlier with a purpose other than merely the handling of it. The learner, that is to say, is now using the form, not merely practising it.

When teachers or educational administrators say that they wish to incorporate communicative teaching within the existing framework of a structural syllabus — and when specialists claim that a communicative methodology can in fact be reconciled with a linguistic syllabus — this is the sense in which they must be using the term "communicative", viz. the addition of a component of communicative exercises to the practice stage of each teaching unit. The reconciliation involved is essentially that between a pre-selected language item which is deliberately being taught and some meaning-focused activity which brings that item into use. One can therefore

ask two questions: What is the possible value of such a reconciliation? What is likely to be its pedagogic cost?

The value of introducing communicative exercises in the teaching of a structural syllabus would presumably be that such meaning-focused activity can mitigate the unwanted effects of a structural syllabus. There has always been a tension in the structural approach between the principle of systematicity and the principle of naturalness: it is thought that a deliberate regulation of linguistic inputs to the learner — both in terms of an overall order and in terms of concentration on one language item at a time — will facilitate the learner's construction of a grammar of the language for himself; and it is, at the same time, realised that natural language use is an activity in which the user's internal grammar is being deployed without any deliberation. A linguistic regulation of inputs leads to pedagogic activities which involve linguistic deliberation in classroom transactions and therefore runs the risk of promoting an ability which does not approximate to natural language use. The problem then is: how can one make a deliberate linguistic input in such a way that becomes available for non-deliberate deployment by the learner? How, that is to say, can one ensure that something that is learnt through form-focused activity is deployable in meaning-focused use? One answer which suggests itself readily is that meaning focused activity should be employed within the classroom as a supplement — indeed, a corrective — to form-focused activity; and a communicative exercise at the end of each teaching unit is meant to serve this function. The model of language acquisition which operated in such thinking is one of deliberate language inputs being first received and handled deliberately by the learner and then being made to sink below the level of linguistic consciousness. The value of communicative exercises, then, is that, by focusing the learner's attention on things other than language, they create conditions in which the learner engages in a non-deliberate use of the language input received earlier.

Against this perceived advantage, we should consider the pedagogic cost of attempting to reconcile a structural syllabus with a communicative methodology. A structural syllabus by its nature demands that classroom activity be designed to bring into play a pre-selected language item and, if communicative exercises are to be employed in the process, those exercises too will have to meet that demand. Natural language-use, however, does not in general allow

prediction of particular language and any genuine meaning-focused activity in the classroom cannot, consequently, be expected to bring into play a pre-selected language item. Indeed, this is an essential part of the distinction we make between form-focused and meaning-focused activities: the more dependable the prediction of particular language, the more form-focused the activity is and vice-versa. Language drills are activities in which the language aimed at is most predictable and contextualisation is a process which proportionately reduces that predictability. A communicative exercise — that is to say, a meaning-focused activity — is therefore one in which particular language is least predictable and yet adherence to a structural syllabus requires that particular language be predicted in it. This is a very real conflict and its practical consequences in the classroom can be either the use of activities which are communicative only in appearance (but fulfil linguistic prediction) or the use of activities which are genuinely meaning-focused (but do not conform to the linguistic syllabus). The former is what one sees in a large majority of the so-called communicative exercises (including games, role-play etc.) suggested or provided in the literature; and the latter is what is involved in Brumfit's straightforward proposal to provide time in the classroom for fluency activity, quite independently of language-focused accuracy activity — that is to say, a disassociation of the communicative activity from the structural syllabus (Brumfit 1981) not an integration of the two. There is a further point to make about predicting particular language in meaning-focused activities. When one has made a preselection of language there is an inevitable attempt to ensure its occurrence in the activity being set-up and an accompanying uncertainty (hence, anxiety) about it in conducting the activity. This leads to an effort to monitor and scan the language that is being brought into play even while it is being brought into play — an effort to combine deliberation with non-deliberate deployment. This is a process which is very unlike language-use and is sure to produce a distortion, in varying degrees, of the discourse that emerges from the activity. The issue therefore is not only that particular language is largely unpredictable for genuinely meaning-focused activity; it is also that, even when it is predictable to some extent, the act of making the prediction has consequences which are detrimental to the quality of meaning-focused activity.

Let me now move to a second concept of what communicative

teaching is. This is based on the familiar distinction between grammatical and communicative competence — or between "usage" and "use". It is asserted that natural language use involves an ability which goes beyond the deployment of an internalised language-system and that this additional ability can also be analysed as a system and developed deliberately in learners. The analyses attempted are both in terms of rhetorical functions which make discourse coherent and in terms of interactional functions which make inter-personal communication possible. The claim is that these functions tend to occur in identifiable patterns and that the ability to operate these patterns can and should be developed in language-learners. What is involved here therefore is not a claim about the acquisition of language-structure but the claim that it is not enough to acquire language-structure. Consequently, this notion of communicative teaching is relevant only to intermediate — or advanced — level courses, not to initial language teaching. It has accordingly been used mainly on what are called language-activation, extension or acculturation courses, which aim to teach people how to use the language they already know. In practice, of course, such courses very often attempt to teach some elements of language-structure as well — or to remedy certain gaps in the earlier acquisition of language-structure — and that leads to a conflict between deliberate linguistic inputs and a message-focused operation of discourse patterns (or to a disassociation of the two kinds of activity), in the same way as has been discussed above. It is also possible to make a much larger claim for this particular concept of communicative teaching, viz. that message-focused activity, which develops the ability to operate discourse patterns, is at the same time a good way of bringing about the acquisition of language-structure itself. This would be a radical development of the concept we are dealing with and is in fact close to a different concept which I will discuss later in this paper.

A third concept of what makes language-teaching communicative is that which underlies notional syllabuses. It involves three related claims: first, that the world of meaning can be analysed sufficiently for us to state language-teaching syllabuses in semantic, instead of structural, terms; second, that a syllabus-statement in semantic terms is likely to have a beneficial effect on classroom activity, by making it more meaning-focused; and third, that such a syllabus-statement permits a more purposeful or pragmatic selection

and organisation of teaching items than does a structural syllabus (Wilkins 1981). The first claim is obviously vulnerable if taken on its own but what it refers to is not the world of meaning as such but the sorts of meaning units which are identifiable in recurrent situations of language-use and which can, more importantly, be associated with the items of language structure that are normally employed to articulate them. It is this association of semantic and structural items that sustains the second claim, viz. that the resulting classroom activity is then likely to be more meaning-focused. The assumption is that each structural item in the syllabus will then appear under a conspicuous semantic label which will act as a constant reminder that the item is to be handled meaningfully in the classroom and will also perhaps help to suggest certain actual contexts which can be employed for the purpose. The third claim — that of purposeful selection — is based on the assumption that learners can be equipped with specific language for specific situations and is related to the perceived desirability of graded objectives, modular courses and surrender values.

The first comment to make on this concept is that it is concerned with modes of making and justifying statements about language courses, not with modes of acquisition at all — of either linguistic or communicative competence. It does involve the hope that a semantic labelling and grouping of language-items will lead to greater attention to meaning in the classroom but it makes no hypotheses about what meaningfulness consists of or how such meaningfulness will promote the acquisition of language-structure. It seems to rely simply on the belief that language-items should be taught in association with their meaning and with maximal contextualisation — a belief which long pre-dates the communicative teaching movement. Notional syllabuses, that is to say, tell us very little about teaching or learning and cannot therefore claim to be communicative, in any particular sense, in terms of classroom activity.

A second comment is that notional syllabuses skirt the issue of input-systematicity. The point here is not just that the semantic analysis being used is of questionable consistency and exhaustiveness; the more important point is that such a syllabus necessarily destroys what systematicity is possible in purely structural terms. Given that the relationship between linguistic and semantic units is far from being one-to-one, any attempt to organise a syllabus seman-

tically must involve a sacrifice on linguistic systematicity. There are of course arguments possible (and put forward) on this issue in terms of purposeful selection and surrender value but there seem to be no pedagogic arguments at all — in terms of whether or not input-systematicity facilitates acquisition. If linguistic systematicity is a help in language-acquisition, then notional syllabuses make a large sacrifice on that front; and if such systematicity is claimed not to be of value for language-acquisition, surely that claim needs to be argued in terms of an acquisition-model?

A third and final comment on this is that notional syllabuses are not just syllabuses in semantic terms; they are bi-dimensional syllabuses in which each unit has a semantic label and one or more associated linguistic items. Now, syllabus-specification has an important impact on what language data are made available to the learner at each stage: the data at any given point are those defined and delimited by the item of the syllabus being taught. This delimitation of data — either in the materials or in the classroom — can be looked on as an aid to learning but it can also reach a point which makes it deprivation. The delimitation demanded by a bi-dimensional syllabus is clearly much greater than that required by a unidimensional syllabus (in whatever terms). Further, notional syllabuses seem, in practice, to have set the trend for greater elaboration in syllabus-statements by the addition of further dimensions. Syllabuses have, for instance, been constructed which specify, at each unit, a notion or function, one or more structures, a situation or a task etc. Each of these multiple dimensions has the effect of imposing a restriction on what can go into a teaching unit — and the combined effect of several dimensions must reach the point of impoverishing the actual input to the learner, causing deprivation.

A fourth concept of communicative teaching is that it is a matter of basing course-construction on needs analyses. The claims involved are, first, that there are material differences between the language (or discourse) typical of one situation and that typical of another; and, second, that it is desirable to equip learners directly with the particular language or discourse features which are typical of the target situations. The specification of typical features can be in structural, sociolinguistic, semantic or discoursal terms — or a complex combination of all these, as in Munby (1978) — and most effort on this approach seems in fact to have been confined to arriving at

such specifications. The second claim — about the desirability of equipping learners directly with the relevant items of language or features of discourse — has hardly been argued in pedagogic terms, as pointed out forcefully by Widdowson (1984). And yet there are crucial issues here for a model of language acquisition — issues involving the notion of equipping learners as against enabling them, the notion of "system" as an analyst's construct as against that of "system" as an operational ability, and the difference in kind between the rules of language and the rules of use. A specification of learner's communicative needs does not make the classroom teaching communicative in any particular sense — and may in fact tend to make it less communicative by putting a premium on equipping activities at the expense of enabling ones.

The fifth and final concept I want to discuss is that communicative teaching consists of meaning-focused activity in the classroom, unrestrained by any preselection or prediction of language. Two claims are being made: first, that meaning-focused activity, involving what I have referred to as non-deliberate deployment, is the best condition for the acquisition of language structure; and, second, that a linguistic syllabus, involving a planned progression in structural terms and a pre-selection of language items for particular activities, will undermine the quality and value of such meaning-focused activity. The stand taken on input-systematicity is that it is unhelpful to acquisition since "system" as an analyst's construct cannot be taken to be isomorphic with the system hypothesised to lie behind an ability to operate in language; and, moreover, the order of inputs is unlikely to correspond to a process of acquisition through interlanguage development. It is also thought that form-focused activity will promote a kind of knowledge which does not represent acquisition and that an ability to deploy language non-deliberately can only be acquired through experience of non-deliberate deployment. Whatever delimitation of input is demanded by this process is brought about, it is claimed, automatically by the pedagogic procedure — of selecting and conducting appropriate meaning-focused activities and of a natural simplification of language to facilitate comprehension, similar to what has been called "caretaker talk".

This concept is thus concerned directly with methodology and is based on a model of what may be called acquisition through deployment, in contrast to a model of regulated input-assimilation.

A sustained attempt to develop and try-out classroom activities in conformity with this concept has been made in the form of a teaching experiment in southern India in the past five years, as reported in a paper I gave at this seminar last year (Prabhu 1983).

I have pointed out five different senses in which the term "communicative" has been used in the profession. They may not all be mutually exclusive in practice (and there are those who look on eclecticism as an absolute virtue) but I think it is important to be aware, in discussion, of which sense one is using the term in and what its implications are for one or another aspect of language pedagogy. This is especially necessary at a time, as now, when "communicative" has become very much a laudatory term. I now wish to conclude this paper with a general observation on the five concepts.

A central problem in language-teaching is: how can we ensure that the language experience provided in the classroom leads to an ability for language use outside the classroom? Different answers are possible to this question, depending on different perceptions of the difference between classroom phenomena and real-life phenomena; and I think the different senses of the term "communicative" can all be related to such different perceptions. Thus, if one saw the difference in terms of form-focused and meaning-focused activity but did not consider the two to be irreconcilable, one would seek to supplement form-focused work with communicative exercises. If, alternatively, one saw the difference in terms of rules of language and rules of use, one would propose post-initial teaching which can extend or convert usage into use. If, instead, one saw the difference mainly in terms of motivation and learners' perception of relevance, one might propose syllabus-statements which permit a modular organisation and surrender values or are conspicuously based on needs-analyses. Finally, if one saw the difference in terms of form-focused and meaning-focused activity and considered the two to be irreconcilable, one would propose teaching which is based entirely on meaning-focused activity. It will be seen from this that the first and the last concepts in my list are closely related — and perhaps throw up the most crucial issues.

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Silence in the Communicative Curriculum

JOHN GIBBONS

The Silent Period Hypothesis

A fundamental assumption of certain recently developed language teaching methodologies is that there should be a "Silent Period" at the beginning of second language instruction when language learners do not speak the target language. Moreover they are assumed to be capable of comprehending, and are expected to demonstrate comprehension by means other than the use of the second language. This assumption is derived from studies of natural second language acquisition and is supported by experiments using a silent period in language instruction. The Silent Period Hypothesis is succinctly described by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982: 25–26) as follows:

> These kinds of findings permit us to suggest that communication situations in which students are permitted to remain silent or respond in their first language may be the most effective approach for the early phases of language instruction. This approach approximates what language learners of all ages have been observed to do naturally, and it appears to be more effective than forcing full two-way communication from the very beginning of L_2 acquisition.

In the initial stage of such methodologies student responses take the form of action or non-verbal communication (Asher 1977; Krashen and Terrell 1983 : 20). This stage could last only a few hours for adults, but for young children could take from one to six months (Krashen and Terrell 1983: 78).

The case for the Silent Period is presented in similar form in Gary (1975: 90–91), Postovsky (1977: 18–20) and Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982: 21–25). These writers draw on a broadly similar group of sources for child second language acquisition, adult second language acquisition and second language instruction. Evidence of these three types will be presented and assessed in turn.

Child Second Language Acquisition

The studies most often cited as evidence that "children acquiring a second language typically exhibit a 'silent period' for one to three months or so" (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982: 23) are Huang (1970), Ervin-Tripp (1974), Hakuta (1974) and Hatch (1972). Ervin-Tripp (1974) reports that her children, aged five years and six and a half began speaking French eight and six weeks respectively after entering a French language school. She also says that some (not all) of the other children she studied said nothing for many months. Like Hatch's subject her children began with memorised routines and patterns, and these were essentially of a socially interactive type. Ervin-Tripp (1974: 115) writes: "Their earliest utterances included greetings: "au revoir", "salut", "bonjour Madame"; operational terms dealing with interaction: "regarde", "tiens", "allez-y", and claims related to the self: "moi bebe", moi sanglier". The last two expressions were used in play. Early syntax began to emerge some weeks later. Ervin-Tripp also indicate that Benjamin Chen's two year old son also initially used routines and patterns. Hakuta's (1974) study of the Japanese five year old girl, Uguisu, began three months after the latter entered kindergarten so she was already speaking English when the study began — Hakuta (1974: 20) writes "the very first visit, Uguisu yielded some 11 utterances". We therefore have no information on a silent period for Uguisu and the frequent citation of this reference is puzzling (if not misleading). She did however use little language during the first two months of the study, and much of her early output consisted similarly of routines and patterns. Huang (1970) and Hatch (1972) report that the subject, a five year old Chinese boy, said nothing for two weeks then used memorised routines and patterns for eight weeks. If we disregard Hakuta's study, Hatch and Huang's subject spoke after two weeks, and Ervin-Tripp's after six and eight weeks. The discrepancy between two weeks and six to eight weeks may be a result of individual differences in personality, or it may be explained by the fact that Hatch and Huang's subject had no speakers of their own language in the school/kindergarten environment so their need for second language interaction was more urgent than that of Ervin-Tripp's children. The initial two week silent period, comprising a limited amount of linguistic input in the school (some of it inevitably poor in quality) is open to a simple interpretation. If a child is given little help and no

instruction, i.e., is acquiring and not learning the second language, then it will take considerable exposure before the child can make sense of the flood of input. Rather than a period of silent comprehension this could better be classified as a period of silent *in*comprehension. If silence persists then social and psychological factors can probably provide an explanation. In particular Kohn and Rosman (1972, 1974) report that some children beginning schooling in their mother tongue are withdrawn and uncommunicative at first. How much more traumatic must it be to begin schooling when one cannot understand the school language and possibly the host culture. Philips (1972) also indicates differences in culturally influenced learning styles. A period of withdrawal for some second language children is therefore predictable, and may have little to do with psychological language acquisition processes.

The evidence for a period of silent comprehension in child second language acquisition is inconclusive. The period may be only two to three weeks rather than the one to three months claimed by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982: 83), and initially it may be an inevitable non-comprehension hiatus rather than a period of silent comprehension. Furthermore the claims are made on the basis of studies of only four children and an aside of Ervin-Tripp's — a clearly inadequate data base. There are also no comparisons made with the withdrawal period of some native speaker children beginning schooling. If the initial silent period is purely a product of incomprehension then in language instruction it could be avoided by the use of known techniques which make input comprehensible, although there may be pedagogic arguments for a silent period.

The seemingly lengthy period when memorised holophrases (routines and patterns) are used is interesting. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982: 241) write "there may be a general similarity between adult and child use of routines and patterns as facilitator of social interaction when productive rules have not yet been acquired". There is some debate as to the role these routines and patterns play in the development of syntax. At the very least one could imagine that they provide accessible input for the acquisition of the syntactic form of the routine or pattern, and that consequently there is some facilitation of the development of syntax.

Interestingly Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982: 22) and others appear to include the initial use of routines and patterns within the

silent period (which may explain their belief in its greater length). To regard this form of speech as silence is disconcerting, but one must take into account the strong emphasis on syntactic form in this school of language acquisition. A communicative and interactive view of second language development could see early routines and patterns as evidence of the first developmental stage of an ability to interact in the second language. It should also be remembered that the silent period hypothesis has been used as a justification for discouraging any early use of the second language for social interaction, in contravention of the natural early use of routines and patterns discussed above.

Adult Acquisition Studies

The most frequently cited source (Postovsky 1977: 20; Gary 1975: 90; Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982: 21–22) is a paragraph from Sorensen (not Sorenson) (1967). This is accessible as Sorensen (1972) and reference will be made to this revised version. Sorensen describes the extraordinarily multi-lingual Vaupes River Indians, and makes brief mention of their language learning approach. The relevant sections read as follows (Sorensen 1972: 88–89):

> Tukano, incidentally is not an easy language to learn. It has a great many phonemes and an intricate tonal system; and apart from the tonal system, it has an intricate system of stress. This suggests the hypothesis that sheer intricacy may foster an all-or-none attitude toward learning to speak a phonologically elaborate language... The Indians do not practise speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation. The diverse and discrete phonologies of these languages and their dialects loom very prominently in the Indians' regard. They may make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it. One of the pre-conditions of language-learning in the area is a passive familiarity with lists of words (including inflected and derived forms) in languages likely to be learned.

It is evident that the Vaupés River Indians adopt a comparatively passive approach to learning languages. The reason given

for this is the considerable phonological complexity of the relevant languages, and perhaps also an unwillingness to risk phonological errors because of the high value placed on accurate pronunciation (Sorensen's wording may be ambiguous here). There is no real evidence for a silent period, but rather for a long term strategy in which "if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it".

There is contrary evidence from another group of very successful language learners interviewed by Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern and Todesco. They write (Naiman *et al.* 1978: 10):

> In order to elicit the interviewees' opinions, which would presumably be based upon their language learning experience, the following question was asked:
>
> Some of the ways of learning a language seem to involve you as a learner more actively (for example, in some cases you are made to speak right from the start), others allows you to be more passive (for example, you just listen to the teacher or you read widely).
>
> Generally speaking, would you prefer to be relatively passive or rather active in the early stages of language learning? Of the interviewees, 82 per cent considered it best to be active right from the beginning, regardless of certain personality characteristics they might have, such as shyness, that would tend to make them follow a more passive approach.

The other piece of evidence used by Krashen (1982) is the case of a Taiwanese woman described by Varvel (1979: 490–91) who remained silent in class until the ninth week of instruction. Presumably the remainder of the class were not silent however.

Once more the evidence given for the existence of a silent period occuring naturally in adults is inconclusive, insufficient and perhaps not entirely relevant. Nevertheless the idea of a more relaxed and unforced approach to oral proficiency of the type described by Sorensen has some appeal.

Language Teaching Experiments

There have been a number of experiments which have aimed at demonstrating that language instruction is more effective if there is an initial phase in which learners are not permitted to speak the target language. Classroom experiments which attempt to compare

language teaching methodologies are notoriously difficult to defend. This is because it is extremely difficult to control all the variables which might affect language learning so that any differences in attainment can definitely be said to derive solely from the language teaching methodology. Another problem is to find a generally accepted measure of these differences in attainment, aince different methodologies tend to produce differing profiles of language proficiency. There is not space here to discuss all the experiments which support an initial silent period in language teaching, but three of the most frequently cited will serve to illustrate the inherent problems.

The difficulty in finding acceptable measurement can be seen in Asher, Kusudo and de La Torre (1974), where the comparison between experimental and control groups was done by means of a test based on listening which clearly favoured the experimental group, since at the half way point in the programme they received instruction "in which class time is 70 per cent listening training through commands" (Asher *et al.* 1974: 28). Another noticeable feature was the ingenuity and flair used by the teacher with the experimental group. The teacher variable is important in my experience, but it was not controlled for, and probably cannot be.

Postovsky (1974) is also frequently cited. His findings reveal that students whose instruction included an initial silent period showed an advantage after six weeks of instruction, but demonstrated no significant difference in attainment after twelve weeks, which is evidence that a silent period in instruction produces little long term gain.

Gary (1975) performed a convincing experiment. Possible flaws were that the materials were designed for the Experimental Group then modified for the Control Group, and we are given no information about the teacher and his/her attitudes. Gary used both daily tests and two large scale tests in the 14th week of instruction, and at the end of the instruction (the 22nd week). There were no significant differences on any of the oral production tests or, surprisingly, on the ability to respond to commands. The daily test revealed an advantage for the Experimental Group on question responses, but the large scale tests did not. Also both groups were favourably disposed to their programmes. Essentially there was very little difference in attainment. Since both groups had the same teacher, the small difference might be explained by an unconscious preference of

the teacher for the experimental methodology.

It is of course easy to pick holes in other people's experiments — far more difficult to perform adequate experiments oneself. However Gary (1975: 93) makes an important point with regard to these experiments — she writes that if "students who weren't required to speak in initial stages could do *at least as well* as students who were required to speak ... then teachers would no longer have to feel compelled to spend a lot of time on oral drill".

Conclusions

The data from natural acquisition studies do not justify statements which assume a natural silent period as fact. Rather than an extended period of silent comprehension for children, an alternative explanation would be the following. First a short silent period of *in*-comprehension. Then, for some children only, a period of silent comprehension and acquisition produced by psychological withdrawal or learning style rather than language acquisition imperatives. Next a period, sometimes quite lengthy, when unanalysed routines and patterns are used. This explanation has a better fit to the available data. The evidence from adult acquisition studies is equivocal and insufficient for any clear picture to emerge, although adult acquisition may be similar to that of children.

If language acquisition studies and experimental studies do not provide firm support for an initial silent comprehension stage in language instruction, are there arguments from within language pedagogy itself to support a silent period? There is evidence after all, as, Gary (1975) has pointed out, that an initial silent period does no harm. The pedagogical arguments need to be seen in the light of the fact that "most beginning English language texts still provide for massive amounts of oral practice and pronunciation correction through a variety of drills" (Gary and Gary 1981: 1). This includes most communicative courses. Those of us who have experienced this type of initial instruction will testify to the stress it engenders. Gary and Gary (1981) argue convincingly the case against this practice, and cite studies which show that classroom anxiety is an inhibiting factor in language learning (see Clément, Gardner and Smythe, 1977; and the review in Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982: 53). One might also point out that forcing learners (especially young children) into immediate speech against their will is very insensitive, if not inhumane.

When reacting against an idea there is a tendency to swing to the opposite pole. In this case it has led to silence being imposed on the learner, possibly equally against the learner's will. A child arriving in a host culture may well feel effectively socially isolated by lack of language ability. For example, a teacher describing a 5 year old girl entering an Australian school writes "she has been motivated to learn English because she is the only child in the school who speaks Korean. She is determined to be understood". A deliberate rejection of this need to communicate is hard to justify. Survival language (e.g., "toilet") and some basic means for engaging in social interaction may well seem urgent to the learner. On the other hand we noted previously evidence from studies of native speaking children (Kohn and Rosman 1972, 1974) that there are individual differences in early classroom inhibition as well as culturally influenced learning styles that might lead to some (but not all) second language children wishing to remain silent when beginning schooling.

The solution that I propose to these competing pressures for and against early second language speech is that the first part of a communicative curriculum should consist of a *reduced output* stage. The term "reduced" is used in two ways. First a reduction in the pressure to speak that is placed upon learners — not *demanding* any output, and also expecting a considerably smaller quantity of output than we have in the past. Second, reduced in the sense of a reduced language, using routines at first, then slot and filler type patterns. This seems to accord well with evidence from second language acquisition studies, and since it involves fewer planning operations (Clark and Clark 1977: 223–92). particularly the difficult ones involved in generating sentences, it should be considerably less stressful. The teacher could provide the learner in a host society with formulae to meet the needs discussed above for survival language and for basic social interaction (see the examples from Ervin-Tripp 1974 given earlier). These routines and patterns may also play a facilitative role in other language development (see Hatch's 1977: 46 comments on "chunks").

To conclude, since there are considerable individual differences in inhibition when entering classroom instruction we should probably neither impose initial silence nor initial speech. Consequently we cannot expect a pre-ordained progression through set material in a given time. At this stage, as in all stages of language teaching,

rather than packaged solutions there is a need for *sensitivity* in the teacher and *flexibility* in the curriculum.

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Theory and Methodology: Do we do what we are knowing?

J.D. WILLIS

Introduction

Some years ago there were many teacher trainers who offered an almost instant criterion for the success or otherwise of a language lesson. Success was inversely proportional to the amount of "teacher talking time". The more time the teacher talked, it was argued, the less time the students talked. The less time the students talked the less they learned. There was therefore a close relationship between the amount of teacher talking time and the amount of learning that went on in a lesson. Teacher talk was definitely a very bad thing. At one well known and very influential language school in London they even developed a complicated sign language which teachers could use to nominate, prompt, correct and admonish students without uttering so much as a word. The teacher began to look rather like one of those men on the race course or in the stock exchange who signal back to let the bookie or broker know how the market is moving.

In *The Natural Approach* published last year, Krashen and Terrell tell us that

> According to the Input hypothesis speaking is not absolutely essential for language acquisition. We acquire from what we hear (or read) and understand, not from what we say. The Input hypothesis claims that the best way to teach speaking is to focus on listening (and reading) and spoken fluency will emerge on its own. For foreign language teaching, in situations where there is no vital need for early communication we can allow speaking to emerge in its own time.

For Krashen and Terrell then teacher talk is a very good thing. They would be worried to see a classroom, particularly in the early stages of learning, in which most of the talking was not done by the teacher. They would certainly argue that by minimising teacher talk-

ing time we would simply be minimising student exposure to valuable language input and thereby preventing the student from acquiring language. I myself have a good deal of sympathy for the Krashen view and very little time for those who would gag the teacher. But whichever point of view is taken as being "correct" there can be no doubt that it will lead to classroom practice which, according to the opposing view, is likely to be extremely unproductive. This prompts the question "How well-founded is our current teaching methodology?" If our methodology rests on false premises then we are certainly wasting a good deal of valuable classroom time and perhaps engaging students in a good deal of unproductive drudgery. With this in mind I would like to look at a number of assumptions which seem to underpin our current practice and which are, I believe, very much open to challenge. I shall then ask the question "What kind of methodology would be implied if we were to deny these assumptions and operate according to quite contrary premises?"

Theories of Learning

We have no comprehensive theory of language learning. We should, however, base our teaching on a coherent theory, and one which is not contradicted by experience and experimental evidence. I would suggest that most existing language learning programmes and coursebooks are based on the following premises, among others:

(1) Language learning is an additive process. The learner's system develops as he gradually increases the stock of language patterns he can produce and understand — today the present progressive, next month the third conditional and next year the Cambridge Proficiency Examination.

(2) If learning "item" are ordered in a logical fashion according to a grammatical description of the language, learners will process and organise these items according to a similar logic.

(3) What is learned in the classroom will, with minor adjustments, be applied outside the classroom.

(4) Syntax must be acquired before discourse. The learner must acquire a sound grammar at the rank of sentence before he can seriously be expected to engage in any form of genuine communication.

(5) It is counter-productive to encourage the learner to operate independently. Unless input and output are controlled the learner

will develop an anarchic system which has only occasional resemblances to the target system.

There can be no doubt that all of these premises are open to serious challenge. Indeed they are all challenged in the literature. Interlanguage theory contradicts (1) and (2) Studies in the order of acquisition of morphemes contradict (3) Studies of language acquisition outside the formal classroom setting contradict (4) and (5), as indeed does Krashen's acquisition theory. What is much more worrying however is that all of these assumptions are seriously challenged by our experience in the classroom, by our experience as teachers. We know from countless bitter experiences that it is simply not true that what is "learned" in the classroom will be applied outside (3). How many times have you heard yourself or one of your colleagues say "But I taught them that last week!". How many times have you known students produce some pattern faultlessly in the controlled classroom environment only to produce something quite different as soon as the control as the control is removed? We also know from experience that the learner's model does not, as (2) would have us believe, develop neatly in line with the input the learner is exposed to. The relationship between input and intake is much more complicated than that. Take for example subject-verb concord marked by the terminal "s" of the third person singular of the present simple tense. This is a very simple rule easily demonstrated and explained. It is one that the learner is exposed to very early in the learning process and yet learners even at an advanced level constantly produce the forms "He work", "She speak" and so on. There is no time to explore this in detail here but I believe that the other premises are equally open to doubt if we examine our experience critically and relate it to underlying assumptions instead of simply taking those assumptions as inviolate.

Language Description

It is a commonplace nowadays that there is much more to learning a language than simply acquiring its grammar. Yet most approaches are still based on the assumption that:

(1) The object of study is a lexico-grammatical system.

This is reinforced by the way students are usually assessed, a procedure which seems to imply that:

(2) One's ability to use a language for effective communication

is directly proportional to the number of grammatical patterns one can cite accurately.

OR

One's ability to use a language for effective communication is inversely proportional to the number of ungrammatical sentences one produces.

When it is presented as baldly as this one's immediate reaction is to deny that one's practice reflects such a naive view of language. Again I would ask you to examine your practice critically and honestly and see what view of language it truly reflects.

One could go on to list other views of doubtful validity which seem to inform our practice. I will list only one more:

(3) There is a defined target variety of the language which is superior to all others, and it is this variety that is to be learned. As a consequence of this any feature of any other variety must be suppressed.

This is a necessary premise if our teaching is to be prescriptive in the way implied in (1) and (2). It is reflected in a belief in the primacy of the academic grammar over current practice and in the teacher's constant assertion "Yes but...it's better to say it this way".

Current Methodology

There is a well established three stage methodological cycle. The stages are:

— Presentation
— Practice
— Production

The inculcation of this cycle and its application lie at the heart of many teacher training programmes.

It seems reasonable, if a little naive, to ask what it is that is to be assiduously presented, practised and produced. The answer is usually a learning "item" of some kind — a structural pattern or the realisation of some communicative function. Substantive realisations of these abstract entities are to be "presented" to the learner so that he becomes familiar with them. He is then required to practise manipulating similar realisations, and finally to "produce" these and other realisations in a way that appears to be spontaneous. These three stages might be described crudely and unsympathetically as:

— Presentation:— Listen to what I say.

— Practice:— Now you say it.
— Production:— Now say it again without my telling you to.

This crude description illustrates dramatically that this PPP methodology rests ultimately on the premises I have outlined and challenged above. It believes that language learning is additive and is teacher-dependent and materials dependent in a very direct way. The very terminology betrays a belief that language can be "presented", which implies that there is a defined lexico-grammatical system which is revealed to the learner piece by piece. Fortunately teachers humanise this methodology. They digress; they forget themselves and contextualise the process in language that the students are not supposed to know; as human-beings and compulsive communicators they cannot prevent themselves from socialising with their students in the target language. What Krashen and Terrel argue in *The Natural Approach*, and what I would argue here, is that meaningful talk by teacher and students should be central to the learning process not peripheral, that we should promote meaningful interaction from the very beginning of language learning instead of regarding it as a useful classroom bonus which may or may not happen later on.

Language Use in the Classroom

I have often proposed, as, for example, in my RELC paper last year, that language activities in the classroom can usefully be regarded as falling into three categories.

(1) *Citation*. Often we produce samples of the language as citation forms. That is to say we produce them not with the intention of encoding meanings but rather with the intention of exemplifying the language system. When the teacher asks students to listen and repeat or to manipulate the language in some structural way he is inviting them to indulge in a citation activity. The success or otherwise of this activity will be judged according to whether or not the student produces accurately the required forms of the language.

(2) *Simulation*. Here again the focus is on accuracy, on the forms of the language. In simulation activities, however, there is an appearance of communication. Perhaps the clearest example of a simulation activity is when, at the Production stage of a lesson we have a role playing activity. Students are required to engage in an activity which involves the appearance of buying and selling for

example. But because of the very nature of the PPP methodology, students know that the primary function of this activity is to allow them to demonstrate that they have mastered the distinction between mass and count nouns together with some of their grammatical markers; or to show that they can produce certain forms of request. Very often the composition lesson is an exercise in simulation. Students write a composition not to inform or entertain a target audience, but simply to demonstrate their command of the target language. It is this that so often makes composition such a difficult task. It is not easy to produce prose for no apparent purpose and for no apparent audience.

(3) *Replication*. I define as replication activities those activities which have a definite non-linguistic outcome, so that the focus of the activity is the outcome and the students success or failure in the activity is judged in terms of his success or failure in his attempt to achieve that outcome. The most common examples of replication activities are games playing and problem solving. These activities involve genuine language use in that language is deployed to achieve a purpose, an outcome. I label such activities "replication" because although they are quite different from the sort of things students are required to do outside the classroom they replicate the features and conditions of communication outside the classroom. Jigsaw listening and reading activities are good examples of this. Students are placed in a situation where they really need to exchange information with one another in order to complete a task. They will need to check what has been said, ask for and provide feedback, offer an evaluation of the information they receive and many of the other things that occur spontaneously in discourse outside the classroom.

Now I would argue that any methodology which relies primarily on citation and simulation activities is one which regards learning as additive, predictable and controlled, and which regards language as a defined lexico-grammatical system. Only by making replication activities the basis of our methodology can we take account of more creative theories of learning and richer descriptions of language.

Replication Methodology

I would like now to outline a possible replication methodology. The kind of student I have in mind is the adult remedial beginner, although I do not care much for the term "remedial". In very many

countries students of this kind are potentially the largest adult group — students who have been through the formal education system, including several years of tuition in a foreign language, but who now find that if they are to master that foreign language they have to begin again at a very elementary level. With these learners in mind I would propose a methodology with seven components:

The components would be as follows:

(1) *Student Performance*. This would be a replication activity. Students will be required to carry out a task or play a game using the target language.

(2) *Observation*. Students will observe on video or audiocassette native speakers of the target language attempting the same tasks or games as they themselves have been engaged in.

(3) *Teacher Input*. The teacher models the target language. This is not done as a citation activity but as part of the process of preparing the students for a task or of reviewing with them their approach to and performance of a task.

(4) *Analysis*. Students will be required to analyse one or more of the features of the native speaker text they have observed.

(5) *Rehearsal*. Students will prepare to report back on their performance of the task. They will comment on what strategies they have used, how successful they have been, and so on.

(6) *Report/Review*. Students will report on their performance of a task.

(7) *Citation*. Students will practise forms of the target language. This is not seen as a part of the learning process, and certainly not as a necessary part. It is our experience, however, that for many students this stage is psychologically necessary. This may simply be a reflection of their previous language learning experience, but, whatever the reason, we see no point in needlessly frustrating student expectations. It is to be hoped, however, that these citation activities will be kept to a minimum.

These components can, as we shall see, be combined in an endless variety of ways. We have no wish to be pointlessly prescriptive as to the shape of a lesson. We wish simply to ensure that the events which take place in the language classroom reflect sound theoretical principles.

It should be emphasised, however, that replication methodology is not simply concerned with the crude and possibly highly in-

accurate performance. The components I have outlined are intended to create the conditions for accurate production. The methodology attempts to do this, however, not by the teacher insisting pedantically on a need for accuracy which may seem utterly irrelevant to the students, but rather by creating conditions in which the students themselves wish to produce accurate English.

The work of Labov (1970, 1972) suggests very strongly that there are communicative circumstances in which we are on our best behaviour and try to produce what we believe to be the prestige variety of the language. There are also more relaxed circumstances in which we are much more concerned with the immediacy and the social content of a message than how its form relates to some prestige variety. I would suggest that Labov's findings are no less relevant to the language classroom than to the streets and offices of New York, where his research was carried out.

When working with a small group of classmates in an attempt to solve a problem students are unlikely to be too much concerned with the formal aspects of the language they produce. The circumstances of this communication are:

Private:— carried out among a small group of peers who are well known to each other.

Spontaneous:— participants are operating in real time. They are composing their messages even as they produce them.

Ephemeral:— there is no record of the language produced.

Given this the demands of the task will take precedence over any desire to conform to prestige norms.

Things are likely to be quite different in the *Report/Review* component however. Here the circumstances of communication are:

Public:— there is no longer the comfort of being enclosed in a small group of peers. Teacher is listening. Classrooms are *public* places.

Rehearsed:— the students have been given time to prepare what they have to say. They are no longer operating in real time.

Permanent:— the teacher is listening carefully and taking note of what is said for future reference.

In these circumstances students are likely to be very much concerned with the form of the message and with conformity to prestige norms. This recognition of the differing communicative demands of different situations is part of our behaviour as communicating social animals. It is something that comes naturally whether the code

norms we are concerned with are English, Malay, Mandarin or Tamil.

Now if we are going to place students in circumstances which demand formal accuracy we should help prepare them for these demands. This is the function of the *Rehearsal* component. While students are preparing their reports the teacher will help them. This will include help with formal accuracy — in other words correction. It is likely that if correction is helping students to achieve something they themselves are motivated to achieve, that is a high degree of sociolinguistically appropriate formal accuracy, then it is likely that this correction will be welcome.

If, on the other hand, formal accuracy is not seen by the students as sociolinguistically appropriate, when, for example, their attention is engaged in the solution of a problem in small groups, then teacher correction and insistence on accuracy is seen by the student as meddlesome and pedantic. It is neither welcome nor useful.

My conclusion is that, at any stage of the lesson students should produce the language that seems appropriate to them and that when this calls for formal accuracy they should be helped to achieve this, but when formal accuracy is a minor consideration it should be treated as such. If I am asked, in the case of a society like Singapore, where an indigenous variety of English as a second language exists, whether this variety of English should be accepted in the classroom I would reply that it must be accepted in circumstances where it is appropriate. To deny this is to deny something that our students as communicating social animals know to be true of language and language use.

I would like to emphasise my basic point however. Just as there are occasions when the acceptance of some standard norms or, if you like, occasions when formal accuracy is not a priority so there are times when formal accuracy is very much a priority. It is a mistake, though a very common one I'm afraid, to think that communication is simply a matter of moving information or social functions around, and that this can be done by aiming at much less than a prestige variety of the target language. On the contrary, sometimes an essential part of the message is:

> I recognise that you are my teacher, and I respect you. I recognise that the classroom is a public place and I wish to

> acknowledge this. I want you to realise that what I am offering you is a carefully constructed message, not something composed in haste. I am giving the form of the message the care and attention demanded by the circumstances in which communication is taking place.

Just as we signal that we are angry by raising the pitch and volume of our voices, so we signal these complex sociolinguistic messages by the variety of the language we attempt to produce. And just as when we are angry we automatically signal this by vocal features, so we automatically signal social messages, not because we simply want to produce accurate forms, but because we want by producing accurate forms to acknowledge the social situation in which we find ourselves.

Ultimately, therefore, the opposition between accuracy and fluency that is often made is a false opposition, since there are occasions when both accuracy and fluency are called for and are sought by the learner. The job of the language teacher, I suggest is to help the learner to do through the medium of the target language what the learner wants to do — not to insist on accuracy for accuracy's sake but to put the learner in a situation where he himself will strive for accuracy because he knows that the communicative situation demands it.

In the situation that exists in Singapore, where English is a second rather than a foreign language, the job of the teacher is not to teach a whole new language. It is to help the student to extend his range towards an acrolectal target. If this is the case then we have an invaluable starting point — the student already speaks a variety of English. We should capitalise on this and help him to define the relationship between his English and the target variety. To ignore the fact that Singaporean students are daily users of English and to reject their English as irrelevant to the business of acquiring a standard form seems to me to be incredibly shortsighted. To deny and denigrate a student's variety of English when used in a situation in which he knows it to be appropriate is to threaten the student, his family, his neighbourhood and his whole social background. It is an intolerably threatening line to take, and hardly one that is likely to promote learning.

An Example of Replication Methodology

There is a well-known language game called "Spot the Difference". In this game students work in pairs. Each pair is given two pictures. The pictures are very similar but differ in one or two particular ways. Students are asked to identify the ways in which the pictures differ. Let us take this activity as the basis for a teaching cycle, and look at what the component parts of that cycle might be.

(1) Teacher explains the rules of the game. This will involve a good deal of teacher input. It may take the form of a dummy run of the game in which the teacher shows two pictures on OHP leads students through the process of spotting. For example, the teacher might say "What about the man in the middle of the picture, the man in the checked shirt? Look at his trousers." This may prompt a student to say "One picture have patch" or something of this sort. The teacher will then say "Good. In one picture the man has a patch on his trousers." This is again teacher input, but this time it has the effect of correcting the student utterance — not overtly by pointing out that he has gone wrong, but by using what is often called "caretaker" language, the kind of language that mothers use in conversation with children who are still acquiring the basic forms of the language, or that a native speaker might use quite naturally in conversation with a foreigner who has a very limited command of the language being used. The features of caretaker language are a good deal of paraphrase and repetition of learner utterances by the caretaker. It is a natural but unobtrusive teaching device.

This procedure will go on for some time. During this the learners are constantly exposed to target forms of the language in a natural and meaningful context.

(2) Students play the game in pairs with another set of pictures. Each student can see only one picture so they have to communicate to one another the contents of their picture in order to identify as many differences as possible. This stage is largely student performance but there will be teacher input when called for — that is to say when students call on the teacher for help with the task. The teacher's role here is to provide the students with the help they need in order to complete the task, language input, although vitally important, it incidental. For the most part the language used by students at this stage will be their own variety, the language they feel comfortable with, the language that comes naturally.

(3) Having identified a number of differences the students prepare to report back to the class on what they have found. This is a rehearsal stage. The students are preparing to report their private experience to the class as a whole. They know that their report must be in standard English, and this is what they are preparing for. At this stage the teacher should be busy monitoring what pairs of students are preparing. It is at this stage that students are likely to welcome correction from the teacher.

(4) Students report back what they have found. This is a report/review stage in which students attempt to produce standard forms. There is a good deal of teacher input and caretaker talk as teacher leads the discourse and reformulates unsatisfactory utterances. Both students and teacher are concerned to combine fluency with accuracy.

(5) Students listen to a recording in which native speakers perform the same task that they themselves have just performed. They are asked to listen carefully and count how many differences the native speakers find. This is an observation stage in which students observe how fluent speakers of the target language tackle a communication problem. It is in fact further input.

(6) Students are asked to analyse one feature of the observed text. They may be asked to pick out all the phrases that describe people; or they may be asked to pick out all the phrases that describe the location of people and things. This of course is the analysis stage. Students are thinking consciously about the language and about how form relates to meaning in a natural context.

(7) Students may do some intensive citation work on the output of their analysis. As I have said I believe that this stage is more for student satisfaction than for genuine learning, but it is nonetheless important, students who are insecure will not learn efficiently.

This particular cycle has seven stages, each one realised by one of the components described earlier. I would not want to be dogmatic about the ordering of these components, except to suggest that the citation come last. If citation comes first there is a real danger that students see the rest of the cycle as an opportunity to repeat the citation forms as often as possible, rather than as being concerned with performing a task through the meaningful use of language. Nor is it necessary that there be seven stages. In the cycle outlined we could add a stage which involved students writing down

at an interim stage, the differences they had observed. This could then have been reviewed before students continued the task orally. This would have given us a nine stage cycle. I believe that this versatility is an important feature of the methodology.

Varying the Activities

The proposed methodology can be applied to tasks which involve written as well as spoken English. It can be used with elementary, intermediate or advanced students. It can be used to adapt materials designed according to structural criteria so that they can be taught communicatively.

The Status of Grammar in the Language Curriculum*

JACK C. RICHARDS

Introduction

Grammar has traditionally had a central role in language teaching. Particular theories of grammar and theories of learning associated with them have provided justifications for syllabuses and methodology in language teaching for thousands of years. Despite the impact of communicative approaches to methodology in recent years, the bulk of the world's second and foreign language learners continue to learn from materials in which the principles of organization and presentation are grammatically based. In this paper we will review the status of grammar in language teaching by considering how grammatical knowledge and grammatical skill contributes to language proficiency. In the first part of the paper we consider grammar from the perspective of language proficiency. In part two we will consider the relationship of grammar to proficiency in the light of second language acquisition research. In the third part of the paper we will consider consequences for language curriculum development.

What Does It Mean to Know a Language? Grammatical Competence, Communicative Competence, and Language Proficiency

Our view of the status of grammar in language teaching will reflect our understanding of the role of grammar in language use. This in turn will depend upon whether we adopt a linguistic, sociolinguistic, or psycholinguistic perspective on language.

Grammatical Competence

The linguistic perspective is seen in the concept of grammatical

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competence, as proposed by Chomsky in his writings in the 1950s and sixties. At that time, knowing a language was equated with knowing the grammar of the language. Grammatical competence was the knowledge underlying our ability to produce and understand sentences in a language. We call upon our grammatical competence to express meanings in ways which are native-like in the target language. At times, we may be prevented from applying our grammatical competence, through fatigue, distractions or other aspects of "performance". The theory of transformational grammar captured our ability to realize propositions in sentence structure through rules for the construction of words, phrases and clauses, through the choice of grammatical categories such as subject, predicate, and complement, and through grammatical processes such as elipsis, pronominalization, re-ordering and transformation.

Communicative Competence

The sociolinguistic perspective is seen in the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1972). Hymes pointed out that in addition to our knowledge of rules of grammar, knowing a language entails knowing how to use it for social and communicative interaction, i.e.,

> knowing when it is appropriate to open a conversation and how, what topics are appropriate to particular speech events, which forms of address are to be used, to whom and in which situations, and how such speech acts as greetings, compliments, apologies, invitations and complements are to be given, interpreted and responded to
>
> (Wolfson 1983:61).

Hymes used the term "communicative competence" to refer to knowledge both of rules of grammar, vocabulary, and semantics, and "rules of speaking" — the patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour of the speech community. Neither the concepts of grammatical competence or communicative competence however describe how such "competence" is used in actual communication, and for this a psycholinguistic or performance-oriented perspective is needed. For this we will consider the concept of language proficiency.

Language Proficiency

The notion of language proficiency is fundamental in language program design, language teaching, and language testing. It refers to the degree of skill with which a second or foreign language is used in carrying out different communicative tasks in the target language. Farhady comments

> Language proficiency is one of the most poorly defined concepts in the field of language testing. Nevertheless, in spite of differing theoretical views as to its definition, a general issue on which many scholars seem to agree is that the focus of proficiency tests is on the student's ability to use language
>
> (Farhady 1982: 44)

Clark suggests that proficiency is the learner's ability

> ...to use language for real-life purposes without regard to the manner in which that competence was acquired. Thus, in proficiency testing, the frame of reference ... shifts from the classroom to the actual situation in which the language is used.
>
> (1972:5)

The concept of language proficiency differs from the concepts of grammatical or communicative competence in several important ways.

(1) It is defined not with reference to "knowledge", or "competence", but with reference to performance, that is, to how language is used.

(2) It is defined with reference to specific situations, purposes, tasks, and communicative activities, such as using conversation for face to face social interaction, listening to a lecture, or reading a university textbook.

(3) It refers to a level of skill at carrying out a task, that is, to the notion of effectiveness. Thus it has associated with it the concept of a criterion which can be used to evaluate the degree of skill with which a task is performed.

(4) It refers to the ability to call upon a variety of component subskills (i.e., to select different aspects of grammatical and communicative competence) in order to perform different kinds of tasks at different levels of effectiveness.[1]

To determine the status of grammar within the language curriculum it is necessary to consider how grammatical knowledge contributes to language proficiency. Work in language proficiency testing provides useful insights in this area.

In the Foreign Service Institute oral proficiency scale or FSI scale, which has been in widespread use in American government agencies as an instrument for assessing the oral proficiency of government employees, three component skills are assessed in determining a person's level of language proficiency. These are referred to as Functions (i.e., functional ability), Content (i.e., topics expressed and understood and vocabulary knowledge) and Accuracy (i.e., grammar and pronunciation). However those who work with the FSI scale have emphasized that the contribution of different component skills varies according to the learner's level of proficiency (Higgs and Clifford 1982).

The Foreign Service Institute Oral Interview Test of speaking proficiency takes five factors into account in determining a person's speaking proficiency; accent, comprehension, fluency, grammar, and vocabulary. But the factors which contribute most to a given level on the FSI scale vary. A study by Adams (1980) demonstrates the difference between proficiency levels in terms of factors which contribute to average performance at each level (see Table 1).

Within a given proficiency level, tasks may also vary according to the type of subskills they involve. For some tasks the need for phonological and grammatical accuracy may be high (e.g., explaining to someone how a piece of equipment works), and in others it may be relatively low (e.g., shopping in a supermarket; ordering a meal in a fast food store). The same task may be performed at different criterion levels. For example a speaking task such as "giving directions" may be performed with a primary focus on Content — "You go — this street — King street — two block — you turning — Bright street", or with a focus both on Content and Accuracy — "First you follow King street for two blocks. Then you turn into Bright street". The way a task is accomplished will also vary according to the audience. Thus we might recount an incident such as a traffic accident in one way, when giving an account of it to a policeman, and in another way when retelling it to a friend.

Language testing research — particularly research in language proficiency testing — has hence contributed a great deal to our

Table 1. The Most Discriminating Factors in the FSI Oral Interview Test (Adams 1980)

Level	Factors in descending order of significance
0+ – 1	Vocabulary
1 – 1+	Fluency Comprehension Grammar Vocabulary
1+ –2	Comprehension Grammar Accent Fluency
2 – 2+	Fluency Comprehension Accent Vocabulary
2+ –3	Grammar Accent Vocabulary Comprehension
3 – 3+	Comprehension Fluency Grammar
3+ – 4	Vocabulary Accent Grammar
4 – 4+	Grammar Vocabulary

understanding of the role of grammar within language proficiency. Grammar is seen not as something which is the central organizing principle of communication, but rather as an important component of communication. It's importance, however, varies according to the type of communicative task the learner is performing, and according to the learner's level of proficiency. It is not simply the case that "more grammar = more proficient", but that grammar skills interact with other language skills and together determine what the learner can do at any given level of proficiency, and how well he or she can do it.

Another complementary source of information is available on the nature of language proficiency and the role of grammatical skills within it, namely second language acquisition research. It is to this to which we now turn.

Second Language Acquisition and Language Proficiency

A considerable amount of research has been conducted into different aspects of second language acquisition in the last ten years (e.g., Felix 1980, Anderson 1983, Hatch 1980, 1983). Although much of this research has not investigated the development of language proficiency directly, much can be inferred about the nature of language proficiency from the results of SLA research. Three issues arising out of this research seem particularly relevant in the context of the present discussion, namely the invariant order of grammatical development, delayed grammatical development, and variable use of rules.

Invariant Order of Development

One of the first important findings of SLA research was the discovery that L2 learners passed through clearly identifiable stages in the acquisition of the grammar of the target language. These include;

(a) use of do-support in Yes/No questions before Wh-questions; i.e., *Does he come*? before *What he did*? (Ravem 1974).

(b) In Wh-questions, a stage in which the wh-words occur in sentence initial position with the rest of the sentence in statement rather than inverted form; *How he can do it?; What she is doing*? (Ravem 1974).

Dulay and Burt (1974), present evidence suggesting a high

degree of agreement between the order in which ESL learners acquired grammatical morphemes and that observed in L1 learners, although the two orders were not identical, as the following table shows:

Table 2 . Order of Development of Grammatical Morphemes in L1 and L2 Learners (Dulay and Burt 1974)

First language learners	Second language learners
1. plural (s)	1. plural (s)
2. progressive (ing)	2. progressive (ing)
3. past irregular	3. contractible copula
4. articles (a,the)	4. contractible auxiliary
5. contractible copula	5. articles (a,the)
6. possessive	6. past irregular
7. 3rd person singular (s)	7. 3rd person singular (s)
8. contractible auxiliary	8. possessive (s)

Although there is ongoing debate into aspects of the invariant order hypothesis (e.g., concerning the nature of individual variation in development, the effects of naturalistic versus formal contexts on developmental orders, the influence of the mother tongue, and the effects of input features; cf Wode 1981; Clahsen 1983; Pienemann 1983; Pica 1982) there is a considerable body of evidence to suggest that second language learners do indeed pass through stages in the acquisition of grammatical features and that these developmental stages are similar for learners of different language backgrounds. These developmental orders are typically taken as evidence to support the claim that second language learning is a "creative construction process" in which learners construct their own interlanguage systems. "The observed morpheme order is the result of the underlying process of acquisition" (Krashen 1982:61). The fact of an invariant or naturalistic order for the development of grammatical morphemes (if indeed it is a fact) however, is in itself of little significance, unless it can be related to a theory of the development

of language proficiency. Givon's account of the differences between pragmatic and syntactic modes of communication can be used to relate the empirical findings of the morpheme studies to a proficiency oriented view of second language acquisition (Givon 1979).[2]

Using data taken from studies of differences between Child-Adult, Pidgin-Creole, and Informal (i.e., unplanned) — Formal (planned) speech, Givon argues that in learning a language we acquire two modes of communication. One, termed the Pragmatic Mode, is a system of communication in which functions, topics, vocabulary and word order are the primary organizing mechanisms. This is seen in child language, in pidgins, and in unplanned informal speech. The other, which Givon terms the Syntactic Mode, is characteristic of adult language, creoles, and formal speech. Givon illustrates some of the differences between these two modes of communication (see Table 3).

Givon argues that syntax arises out of the pragmatic mode. As language learning or language development proceeds, loose pragmatic structure develops into tighter syntactic structure, with morphology and syntax developing to better code emerging semantic and pragmatic distinctions. Reliance on a primarily pragmatic mode of communication is proposed as the normal initial stage in language acquisition. From this perspective the natural order for the development of English morphology seen in SLA studies can be interpreted as reflecting the movement from the pragmatic to the syntactic mode (see particularly Givon's level [f] above). The naturalistic emergence of grammatical competence which the morpheme studies demonstrate, can thus be interpreted as evidence of a gradual refining of the learner's capacities to package communicative meanings and intentions.

The significance of Givon's work for SLA research has been acknowledged by several SLA researchers and a number of studies have been undertaken to test out whether Givon's claims hold true for second language acquisition (Schumann 1979; 1980; 1981; Sato 1984). It may well be that the particular features Givon attributes to the pragmatic and syntactic modes will have to be modified in the light of such research, although the basic claim of the theory appears to hold. Language proficiency is hence seen to involve two basic modes of development, although as other SLA studies have demonst...ted, the two do not necessarily develop at the same rate.

Table 3. Differences between Pragmatic and Syntactic Modes (Givon 1979)

Pragmatic Mode	Syntactic Mode
a. Topic-comment structure	Subject-predicate structure
b. Loose conjunction	Tight subordination
c. Slow rate of delivery (under several intonation contours)	Fast rate of delivery (under a single intonational contour)
d. Word-order is governed mostly by one pragmatic principle; old information goes first, new information follows	Word-order is used to signal semantic case-functions (though it may also be used to indicate pragmatic-topicality relations)
A elarger ratio of nouns-over-verbs-to-nouns in discourse with the verbs being semantically simple	Roughly one-to-one ratio of verbs in discourse, with the verbs being semantically complex
f. No use of grammatical morpology	Elaborate use of grammatical morphology
g. Prominent intonation-stress marks the focus of new information; topic intonation is less prominent	Very much the same, but perhaps not exhibiting as high a functional load, and at least in some languages totally absent.

Delayed Grammatical Development

Although second language learners may evidence an invariant order for the acquisition of certain grammatical features of the target language, for many language learners, acquisition does not lead to gradual mastery of all of the features of the target language. Many learners, despite prolonged contact with and use of English, fail to show further development for many areas of grammar beyond an initial level of proficiency, despite developing greater control in other areas of communicative competence. Schmidt (1983, 1984) for example, presents a case study of an adult ESL learner resident in an

English speaking community who makes extensive use of English for social and professional purposes. But the learner displays remarkably little progress across a five-year period of observation in acquiring nine grammatical morphemes, as seen in the following table:

Table 4. Accuracy Order for Nine Grammatical Morphemes in Obligatory Contexts (Schmidt 1983)

	July 1978	November 1980	June 1983
Copula BE	95%	94%	84%
Progressive ING	92%	90%	90%
Auxiliary BE	91%	89%	85%
Past Irregular	25%	55%	51%
Plural	5%	32%	21%
3rd singular -s	0%	21%	24%
Article	0%	6%	2%
Possessive -s	0%	8%	10%
Past regular	0%	0%	0%

Higgs and Clifford (1982) document a similar phenomenon in describing typical performance of students taking intensive foreign language courses at the Defence Language Institute. Many students in such programs are unable to progress beyond a rating of 2 or 2+ on the FSI scale (the "terminal 2 syndrome" as the authors describe it) and lack sufficient control of the grammatical component of language proficiency to obtain a higher rating, despite intensive instruction. They may have a reasonable control of topics and vocabulary (indeed they may be rated 3+ or 4 on these dimensions) but are weak on grammatical accuracy.

> This pattern of high vocabulary and low grammar is a classic profile for a terminal 2/2+. In fact, the terminal [2/2+ profile]....is encountered all too frequently in government screening programs. It is important to note that the grammar weaknesses that are typically found in this profile are not *missing* gram-

> matical patterns which the student could learn or acquire later on, but are *fossilized* incorrect patterns. Experience has shown again and again that such patterns are not remediable, even in intensive language training programs or additional in-country living experience.
>
> (Higgs and Clifford 1982:67)

Schumann (1978) provides further data on a subject who failed to make progress in grammar. Schumann studied six learners over a ten-month period and found that one learner

> showed very little linguistic development during the course of the study. Four stages were found in the acquisition of the English negative, no V, don't V, aux-neg, analyzed don't; throughout the study Alberto remained in the first stage. Two stages were found in the acquisition of English wh-questions; throughout the study Alberto remained in the first period of the first stage.
>
> (Schumann 1978: 65)

In the light of the distinction between pragmatic and syntactic modes of communication, cases such as these may be interpreted as situations where learners develop proficiency in the pragmatic mode at the expense of the syntactic mode of communication. Schumann (1978) offers a socio-psychological explanation to account for non-acquisition of the syntactic mode, in terms of his acculturation theory. Schumann attributes his subject's lack of grammatical development to the learner's social and psychological distance from the speakers of the target language and to the fact that his pidginized speech was sufficient for his restricted communicative needs. Schmidt's study however does not support Schumann's acculturation theory, since his subject was well acculturated. Despite extensive use of English for social and personal purposes, however, the subject's grammatical development remained very limited. Higgs and Clifford propose that the reasons for the terminal 2 syndrome encountered in many US government language programs is that in many foreign language programs where there is an initial emphasis on communication, and in particular comprehensible communication, learners' production or output demands in the target language may soon outstrip their grammatical competence, resulting in

learners who are successful but grammatically inaccurate communicators. There may be too few demands within the curriculum for use of the syntactic mode. In addition there is often little focus on grammatical accuracy in such programs.

Schmidt's study is a test case for a different form of validation of Givon's theory, however, since Schmidt's subject used English exclusively for speaking and listening.[3] He had virtually no contact with written modes of communication. Now it could well be the case that acquisition of the syntactic mode is dependent upon use of other than oral modes of communication. Many of the linguistic features of the syntactic mode cited by Givon (e.g., passivization, use of relative clauses, subordination in the verb phrase, use of complex verbs, complex genitive constructions) are features more characteristic or more frequent in written than spoken discourse. Hence it could be that lack of contact with the written mode (either in reading or writing) will lead to retarded development along the syntactic parameter. The converse is presumably also possible, where a learner would be exposed primarily to the syntactic mode and evidence considerable development along the syntactic parameter, but be severely restricted in use of the pragmatic mode, i.e., be unable to maintain conversational discourse.

Another important issue arises from cases of retarded grammatical development, such as those studied by Schmidt and Schumann. Such cases demonstrate that the degree of development or non-development along a grammatical continuum cannot be taken as evidence of a level of language proficiency. As Schmidt has shown, a learner may have attained a considerable degree of communicative or pragmatic proficiency despite lack of progress in the grammatical domain. An index of grammatical development is not therefore necessarily an index of language proficiency, despite the attempt by some SLA researchers to see these as one and the same thing (cf Larsen — Freeman 1978). The Schumann, Schmidt, and Higgs and Clifford cases can therefore be used to reject proposals such as those of Clahsen (1983), who makes use of information concerning only grammatical and morphological development to assess general language proficiency. While language proficiency at the highest levels includes control of morphology and syntax, the different components of proficiency may develop relatively independently in certain circumstances and nothing can necessarily be

inferred about one (e.g., the pragmatic mode) from the state of development or retardation of the other (e.g., the syntactic).

Variable Use of Rules

Another phenomenon documented in studies of second and foreign language learning which adds further to our understanding of language proficiency is that of variability in the use or application of rules which learners apparently "know". An individual may demonstrate accurate use of a particular feature of grammar or phonology in one situation (e.g., telling a story) but not in another (e.g., informal conversation). Dickerson and Dickerson (1977) and others (Tarone 1983; Sato 1984) have shown that this type of variation is systematic; the use of target language features varies systematically according to the situation or context for its use. LoCoco (1976) compared the performance of learners in three different situations and found significant differences in the number of grammatical errors occurring in each situation and also in the degree to which transfer and overgeneralization errors occurred. As Tarone observes, "the linguistic and phonological characteristics of Interlanguage change as the situation changes" (Tarone 1979:183).

There are several explanations available for the variability evidenced in the use of aspects of the second language learner's interlanguage phonology and syntax. Tarone (1984) and others (Tarone 1979; Dickerson 1977; Sato 1983) have illustrated the effect of task on the use of interlanguage rules. Performance on different kinds of tasks (e.g., reading aloud from a word list, telling a story, free conversation, an interview, a written grammar test, an oral grammar test), may vary because the amount of attention to phonological and grammatical accuracy, that is, to language form, differs across task conditions. (Tarone 1984 emphasizes that this is not the only variable however.) Some tasks require little attention to language form (e.g., informal conversation) while others require a great deal (e.g., a writing task) and this affects both the kind of target language forms used, and also the degree to which certain forms are used. This is also predicted by Givon's theory, since the differences between formal (i.e., planned) and casual (i.e., unplanned) speech is another example of a difference between the pragmatic and syntactic modes of communication, both of which have their own distinctive grammatical and phonological characteristics.

Krashen's Monitor Theory (Krashen 1981, 1982) would attribute variation according to task to differences between conditions for the application or non-application of the "monitor". Tasks vary according to the presence or absence of features necessary for the application of the monitor (e.g., the amount of time available, or the degree to which a focus on accuracy is present; however see Gregg 1984). McLaughlin's discussion of differences between controlled and automatic processing is an additional dimension of (McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod 1983). According to the theory of controlled versus automatic processing, learning any complex task requires the integration of a number of sub-skills. In order to be able to handle recurring tasks more efficiently, many of the underlying skills become automatic and are then generally performed without conscious attention. This is referred to as "automatic processing". In learning a new task, subskills which are not yet part of automatic processing may initially require conscious attention. They are under the domain of "conscious processing" at this stage. This may lead to an intrusion onto the ability to simultaneously perform other aspects of the task, which can lead to the learner's control of grammar being affected. Gradually, controlled processes become automatic as the learner gains proficiency in the task.

Research on variation in interlanguage syntax and the effects of task on use of component subskills thus complements the definition of proficiency given in part one of this paper, and provides further evidence of how the different components of proficiency assume different degrees of significance according to the nature of a communicative task.

Curriculum Implications

We have seen that both the literature on language proficiency testing as well as research on second language acquisition support the notion that grammar is a necessary but not sufficient component of language proficiency. The proper context for discussing the role of grammatical and other skills in the curriculum is hence through reference to a theory of language proficiency, such as we have attempted to present above. A theory of grammar or of grammatical development cannot provide a starting point for a proficiency oriented curriculum, though such a curriculum must acknowledge the role of grammatical skills within different kinds and levels of

proficiency. In developing a proficiency-oriented curriculum therefore our goal is to develop a curriculum in which grammatical skills are viewed as components of specific kinds of proficiency. Guidelines for the development of such curriculum models are currently being developed in large scale language programs.

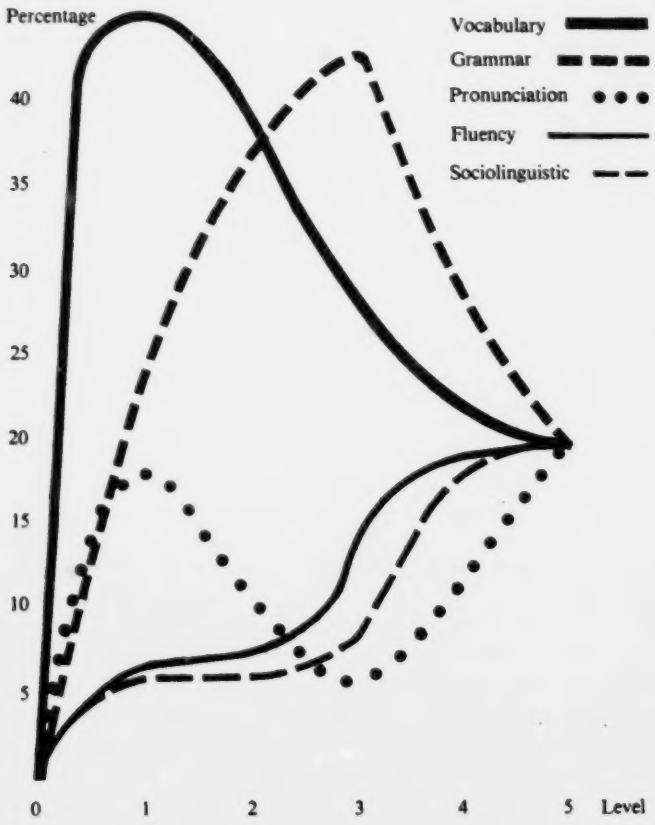
One such example is that of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Proficiency Guidelines which are specifications of nine levels of language proficiency, for speaking, listening, reading, writing and culture (Higgs 1984), intended as general guidelines for the development of foreign language programs in the United States. Within each proficiency level, the expected performance outcomes are specified in terms of subskills related to Functions, Content and Accuracy. A similar approach has been adopted in the design of on-arrival programs for immigrants in Australia. Ingram comments:

> In order to ensure that a language program is coherent and systematically moves learners along the path towards that level of proficiency they require, some overall perspective of the developmental path is required. This need resulted ... in the development of the Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLRP). The ASLRP defines levels of second language proficiency at nine (potentially twelve) points along the path from zero to native-like proficiency. The definitions provide detailed descriptions of language behaviour in all four macroskills and allows the syllabus developer to perceive how a course at any level fits into the total pattern of proficiency development.
>
> Ingram 1982:66)

For each type of communicative task the learner is expected to accomplish (e.g., listening, speaking, reading, writing) the proficiency descriptions should describe the criterion which must be attained. As Higgs and Clifford point out in defending such a proposal:

> If the goal of the curriculum is to produce Level 3 speakers of a language, then the concentration on language subskills in the curriculum should be representative of their relative importance in performing Level 3 Tasks. Grammar skills would be an important part of the curriculum. If the goal is to produce students with Level 1 survival skills, then the optimum curriculum mix would be entirely different, with a primary emphasis on the teaching and practice of vocabulary.
>
> (Higgs and Clifford 1982:73)

Higgs and Clifford represent the (hypothetical) relative contribution of different subskills, including grammar skills, at different levels of proficiency, in the following Figure:



Hypothesized Relative Contribution of Different Components of Proficiency According to Level (from Higgs and Clifford 1982)

However proficiency levels intended for use in curriculum planning will differ somewhat from those intended for use in language proficiency assessment, since the latter are typically defined negatively in terms of deficiencies in performance. Proficiency guidelines for use in curriculum planning need to be defined positively in terms of specific but restricted levels of skill. This is not always the case with the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. The use of proficiency levels in language program development are hence an attempt not simply to specify communicative goals within the curriculum but to determine the degree of effectiveness with which communication is carried out.

The use of graded objectives in curriculum development currently being implemented in several countries represents an alternative approach to relating grammatical and other skills to levels of performance on specific tasks (Page et al. 1982: Buckby et al. 1981). These are typically defined not in terms of how a native speaker would carry out a task, but how a second or foreign language learner at a particular level of proficiency, can carry out a task. Both proficiency guidelines and graded objectives differ in conception from what is commonly understood by objectives in curriculum planning, in that they can be derived empirically from studies of learner performance at different levels of achievement (cf Brindley 1982). They do not simply represent the planners' or applied linguist's view of how target language performance is carried out.

How is the status of grammar in the curriculum effected by a shift from "competence" to "performance" as the guiding principle of language curriculum development? If the claims of Higgs and Clifford (1982) are accepted, grammatical accuracy is a fundamental component of lower levels of proficiency for many communicative tasks. If accuracy is delayed to promote comprehensible output, they suggest, learners may not be able to move beyond the level of proficiency currently represented by the Level 2 descriptions on the FSL scale. The pragmatic mode will develop at the expense of the syntactic mode. This is not to advocate a return to grammatical syllabuses or grammar drills, since a focus on grammar in itself is an invalid way to approach the development of language proficiency. Rather, tasks and activities selected for use at different levels of proficiency should reflect the degree of importance attributed to grammatical accuracy at that level. Furthermore, by a focus on grammatical ac-

curacy we refer to pedagogic tasks and learning experiences that allow for the development of monitoring, revision or editing capacities, i.e., in which grammatical accuracy is the realization of a communicative process, rather than activities which focus on the study of grammar for its own sake.

Viewing grammatical skills as a component of language proficiency rather than as an end in themselves highlights the inadequacies of many language syllabus currently in use in Southeast Asia. The concept of proficiency is hardly acknowledged at all in many national syllabuses for the teaching of English, and differences between the syllabuses for first, second or third year English programs are typically expressed simply in terms of content differences, the content being defined exclusively in grammatical terms. Even where attempts have been made to focus on communicative outcomes rather than grammatical content (e.g., as in the Malaysian Communications Syllabus), the level at which syllabus tasks are to be performed is not specified. Neither the teacher nor course designer is given guidelines as to what aspects of proficiency (accent, fluency, accuracy, vocabulary etc.) are considered most crucial in order to perform the syllabus tasks. A similar objection could be made to proposals for "process-based" syllabuses (cf Terrell 1977; Prahbu 1983). It is possible to organize a language program around interactive and communicative tasks and activities, selecting tasks according to how they are presumed to engage specific language acquisition processes. But if these are developed independently of graded proficiency descriptions (i.e., without reference to a theory of output), we have no criteria for developing, grading, and evaluating tasks. Proficiency descriptions thus allow for accountability within the curriculum development process.

To return to the theme with which this paper opened, we can say in conclusion that grammar still has a central role in language teaching. However its role is derived from the kinds of proficiencies we plan as the outcomes of the language curriculum.

NOTES

1. Cf. Canale (1983), who distinguishes between grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence and strategic competence, all of which constitute communicative competence.
2. Givon makes no such connection himself; this is my own interpretation.
3. Again, in what follows I am interpreting Givon in the light of my discussion of proficiency.

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Communicative Language Teaching in the Rural Areas: How does One Make the Irrelevant Relevant?

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Introduction

The literature on second-language learning and teaching is replete with the topic of this seminar; it seems to me that in going from a highly formal structural approach to a communicative approach, we have merely rediscovered what the good teacher in class knew all along, that one does not learn any language until one actually uses it to satisfy a genuine need to talk about something important to oneself and to others.

The problem plaguing most of us in second language teaching in a Philippine context is one of spontaneity and naturalness. Most of our pupils are bilingual if not tri-lingual in the Philippine vernaculars; this relatively wide repertoire enables them to exploit the resources of these languages according to various social contexts and situations. While English is learned in school, for quite narrow domains and for speaking only with certain people, its use in other situations, especially in rural areas, would be strained and unnatural, in effect, artificial. How then can one communicate spontaneously and naturally in a code one does not normally use for practically any situation outside the classroom?

The word *relevant* has become a cliché in Philippine education, but it is proper to use it in this context, hackneyed as it is, for the plain and simple fact is that in the countryside, in the rural areas, English has become irrelevant at least in the short term and for immediate needs.

This sociological fact is a product of historical developments and societal evolution over the past forty years, roughly the period after the Second World War; it is a post-colonial phenomenon.

During the period of "Occupation" as some of our ultra-nationalists put it, English was one's natural tool for social mobility.

The advantages were palpable and immediate. With knowledge

of the colonial master's tongue, one was in a position to be a middle-man, one had access to the powers-that-be, eventually one enjoyed preference in terms of being first in line for the incentives or "goodies" that the masters offered. In the Philippines, five years after the Americans arrived, they were sending the first pensionados or government scholars to the United States for college. And Filipino youths of varying ages within the space of five years learned the new masters' tongue so well that they were recommended suitable for tertiary-level work in various colleges and universities in the United States. They returned as the new elites and became civil servants and middle-men between the local population and the minority government masters. And as the Filipinos took the first early steps towards some form of self-government, through membership in the Philippine Commission and through membership in the national assembly (1907, 1920), they soon learned and began to use English while maintaining Spanish.

The records of the civil service examinations (in Spanish and in English) showed the preferences — the numbers taking the examinations in Spanish drastically decreased to 1 per cent (almost zero) but continued to increase in English (see Gonzalez 1980:29).

The courts of law continued to use Spanish during the entire American Period but as a younger generation of lawyers trained at the University of the Philippines took over, they were English-dominant more than Spanish-dominant. In the halls of the National Assembly and later the House of Representatives dominated by a succession of speakers who never quite measured up to Osmeña's stature under the initial unicameral Assembly, and the Senate dominated by the charismatic Quezon, from the beginning to his presidency, one heard more and more English, less and less Spanish, although in private most of these leaders were more at home in Spanish than in English.

The rapidity of acquisition of English among the Filipino educated would constitute a unique case study, when one considers that in the first census (1903, reported in 1905) there were practically no English-speaking people; fifteen years later, in the census of 1918, the second census, among literate individuals ten years and above, 569,501 or 30.4 per cent were reported to speak English and 563,495 or 33.5 per cent males and 322,359 or 22.1 per cent females were reported to read and write English (Gonzalez 1980:27). Collantes

(1977:14), based on the 1918 census, places the English-speaking population at 896,258 out of 10,314,310 or 9 per cent of the total population.

More of these interesting facts need further documentation, but this rapidity of acquisition is perhaps unique in colonial history, since when the Spaniards left the Philippines after more than three hundred years (1565–1898), the number of Spanish-speaking Filipinos was 978,276 out of 7,685,426 or 13 per cent of the population (Collantes 1977:14); this percentage in my estimation is overstated, given De la Cavada's figures for 1873: 144,463 out of 5,151,423 or 2.5 per cent Spanish speakers in 1873. Even with the establishment of the Normal School for teachers of Spanish after the Educational Reform of 1863, one doubts if the percentage of speakers of Spanish in the country could jump from 2.5 per cent to 13 per cent in thirteen years.

What cannot be doubted is the rapid acquisition of English in the Philippines: 9 per cent in 1918 (fifteen years after the coming of the Americans) to 27 per cent on the eve of Independence (census of 1939; see Collantes 1977:14). What the Spaniards were unable to do in more than three hundred years, the Americans did twice better in a period of 41 years!

Undoubtedly, the chief instrument for having accomplished this in the Philippines was the public school system, which was one of the first structures established by the Americans even before the Organic Act of 1902.

However, we have to find the dynamics which made language learning in school then possible, inspite of the relatively poor methodology and materials available and in use in the public schools of the Philippines then compared to what we have now. We have to explain the phenomenon of how it was that Filipinos learned to communicate in English, a language transplanted in a totally new environment, when today given better methods and better materials and a much more developed school system, communicative ability does not seem to be as readily attained. What was relevant then and what is irrelevant now?

Language Use in Philippine Classrooms

In a major study completed by Bonifacio P. Sibayan and his associates at the Language Study Center of the Philippine Normal

College and partially reported at the Regional Language Centre Seminar on Interlanguage Processes in Language Learning and Communication in Multilingual Societies in 1982, there are some valuable observations on what is happening in Philippine classrooms these days.

Based on 991 classroom observations in selectively sampled schools (using stratified random sampling) in Metro Manila and Tanay, Rizal (Tagalog-speaking) and Iloilo City and Janiuay, Iloilo (Hiligaynon-speaking), 711 critical incident reports of classes, and 347 questionnaires filled out by teachers, some very important findings were made on communication problems in today's Philippine classrooms.

In non-Tagalog areas in the Philippines, special difficulties (expectedly) are presented in having to use two non-native languages (Tagalog-based Pilipino and English) to learn the content of different subjects, thus resulting in loss of instructional efficiency.

In classroom interaction, Tagalog pupils were enthusiastic when familiar subject matter was presented in Pilipino by Tagalog speakers; pupil to pupil interaction in Tagalog-speaking areas was of course in Pilipino.

However, in these Tagalog-speaking areas, when English questions were asked, the pupils responded in Pilipino even in subjects where English was supposed to be used; when the teachers insisted on English, a code-switching variety of English and Pilipino was used quite often or Pilipino with much borrowing from English (especially of loanwords).

Among these Tagalog-speaking pupils, in both rural and urban areas, the teachers and pupils were more relaxed in classes taught in Pilipino than in English, and of course, there was much interaction between teacher and pupil and pupil and pupil as long as the medium was Pilipino.

However, in non-Tagalog areas, the classes were more relaxed in English than in Pilipino but most relaxed in the vernacular. In these same non-Tagalog areas, both rural and urban, pupils gave one-word answers or incomplete sentences in Pilipino; the pupil-to-pupil interaction was in the local vernacular but the recitation was in English and when the recitation had to be in Pilipino, the pupils mixed English with it!

In explaining concepts, terminology, directions in English,

resort to Pilipino or the vernacular had to be made; the same reason prevailed, i.e., for ease in discussions. On the part of the pupils in Tagalog-speaking areas, there was little effort to speak and learn English; in answering they used Tagalog even in mathematics and science, where English is required.

On the other hand, in non-Tagalog urban areas, most subjects supposed to be taught in Pilipino were taught in English, or if taught in Pilipino, there were shifts to English rather than the local vernacular since neither one (Pilipino or the vernacular) had the necessary pedagogical idiom for explaining more advanced concepts and principles.

In non-Tagalog rural areas, subjects to be taught in Pilipino were likewise taught in English, although here, for explanation and clarification, there were shifts to the vernacular, especially in science and mathematics.

By and large, in these classrooms, there was a predominance of teacher-talk; as the pupils grew older, in the upper grades, especially with the use of aids, there was more pupil participation.

What was alarming was that there was poor reading comprehension in both Pilipino and English in all sites; in Tagalog areas where classes were taught in Pilipino the subject matter was too simple.

I have dwelled on these details to give the reader a better picture of what is actually happening as far as communication is concerned in the Philippine classrooms presently under the Bilingual Education Scheme.

Thelma C. Santos (1984) under the mentorship of Andrew Gonzalez did a similar study in school year 1982–83 for only one region, a multilingual region speaking Tagalog, Kapampangan, Ilocano and Sambal (the last three Northern Philippine languages and the first a Central Philippine language in the Philippine family of languages). Based on classroom visitations of 5 per cent of the 2,390 schools in the region, which is composed of nine divisions and several provinces (Bataan, Zambales, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Pampanga, Bulacan), 120 schools were visited by a team; each grade level in a school was visited (Grades 1–4 for primary schools, Grades 1–6 for complete elementary schools) and three subject class as of each level were observed (English Language Class, Mathematics, and Science). There were a potential of nearly 2 000 classes and teachers

visited (120 schools x 4/6 grades x 3 subjects); however, since some grades had only one section, the same teacher was observed teaching three separate subjects. All in all over 1,270 teachers were observed interacting with their classes in 10–15 minute observation periods. A check-list of conversational turns was made and a sample of 180 classes was taped for in-depth analysis (Gonzalez, in press, and Santos 1984).

It should be remembered that Region III (Central Luzon) while close to Metro Manila has not undergone the urbanization of Metro Manila; moreover, it is multilingual. Schools were classified into rural and urban schools (the latter in Olongapo [Zambales], Angeles City [Pampanga], and Cabanatuan City [Nueva Ecija]). Moreover, there were central schools in poblacions (centers of towns) and peripheral schools outside poblacions. In general, central schools even in rural areas show processes of urbanization more than peripheral schools.

What the in-depth observations show is that there is a dominance of Teacher to Pupil talk (7:3); that unlike Manila, as grade level progresses, there is more English used by teachers and pupils especially for English Language, Mathematics, and Science classes (in that order). What is remarkable here, in comparison with the Iloilo data of Sibayan (1982), is that while the pupils had other mother tongues besides Tagalog, if a local language had to be resorted to, it was always Tagalog, showing a high degree of bilingualism (vernacular and Tagalog) as well as the rapid spread and dominance of Tagalog-based Pilipino in this part of the country close to Metro Manila (known as Region III or Central Luzon).

However, even in this area, at least initially, when the pupils do not know enough English, Pilipino is used in supposedly English-medium subjects when the teacher gives directions or issues instructions for clarification (the use of Pilipino is through tags, conversation movers, attention callers) and for explaining content, to clarify a definition, a rule, a concept or generalization initially uttered in English.

The pupils in turn, when answering, resort to Pilipino words or explanations when they do not know the words in English or when they wish to ask a question but cannot express themselves with confidence in English.

What is remarkable about the data from Region III is that in

the provinces, in the upper grades, more English was used in Tagalog areas than in non-Tagalog areas; since these areas are closer to Pilipino-speaking Metro Manila, where based on the Sibayan data Pilipino is making more inroads, one would expect more use of Pilipino. Apparently, in Region III, the same trend does not exist as in Metro Manila, at least, not yet.

Morever, in these same regions, rural-urban differences for English and Pilipino usage were insignificant at the intermediate grades but at some grade levels, teachers in rural areas used more English than Pilipino when compared with teachers in urban areas, where Pilipino seemed more dominant. Undoubtedly, this is due to the fact that urban areas are melting pots of various ethnic speakers of their mother tongues both among pupils and teachers and that it is in these multilingual situations that a lingua franca such as Pilipino seems to be disseminated more rapidly.

In rural areas, Grades 1, 2 and 4 teachers in central schools used more English than those in complete elementary schools. Teachers in central and complete elementary schools in these rural areas also used more English than did teachers in primary schools (Grades 1–4) in all subjects; the best trained teachers are usually assigned to these same central and complete elementary schools.

By and large, pupils used more English (compared to Pilipino) than their teachers. This is deceiving, however, since the pupil responses were mostly one-word, phrase, formulaic answers, and only a small percentage were tokens of genuine communication. For practical purposes, there were no student-initiated questions and teachers tended to repeat their questions and explanations endlessly to elicit answers from the pupils.

In the analysis of questions asked, it was found by both Gonzalez and Santos that the intellectual level of questions was low; teachers asked questions calling for facts or paraphrases or general comprehension, seldom calling for the use of higher cognitive skills of application, analysis, synthesis, inference, evaluation, and creative supposition.

The order of frequency of question types in English Language Class and in Science Class was WHAT, YES-NO, WHO, and HOW MANY questions; the order of frequency was slightly different for Mathematics (for understandable reasons): WHAT, HOW MANY? YES-NO, WHO.

When queried about the present language situation in the classrooms of Region III, especially about the use of Pilipino in English-medium classes, administrators (principals, head teachers, teachers-in-charge) stated that the reasons for code-switching were: elicitation of quicker responses from the pupils, influence of the mass media where code-switching is extensively used, and quite alarming, teachers' lack of full competence in English and hence the necessity of having to resort to some other language besides English.

Presently, there are no nation-wide tests which have been given to teachers to gauge their English-language competence or for that matter their Pilipino language-competence. There have been nation-wide tests for science and mathematics (see Gonzalez 1983), which are rather anxiety-producing in showing the low level of competence among science and mathematics teachers in the country with regard to knowledge of subject matter. A general idea of competence may be obtained from scores of the professional examinations for teachers in the Philippines, which contain a language component (reading, lexical items in English, some grammar in Pilipino) which could be used as gauges, but since these tests are not equalized from year to year, no certain conclusions can be drawn.

What is obvious is that the teaching profession because of its poor compensation scheme and working conditions is not attracting the best talent in the country, and although the board of the National Testing Center of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports of the Republic of the Philippines has now raised the cut-off score for education students to 55%ile, from 45%ile initially a few years ago), the cut-off point is still rather low since the secondary school leaving examination has been found to be by and large quite easy and not discriminate at the upper levels. In any case, it is not an impression but a fact (although not fully quantified) that the best and the brightest of Philippine youth leaving secondary education do not go into education as a life's carrer. Hence, the quality of incoming recruits into the profession will continuously cast doubt in the future about their real competence in English, Science and Mathematics, in addition to doubts about their pedagogical skills.

I have dwelled at great length on the findings of these important studies since they spell out the background for the consideration of communicative language teaching in the Philippines. In dealing with the Philippines, and I suspect in dealing with any country where

comparable sociolinguistic conditions prevail, social and economic parameters differ so widely between city and country that one is faced with almost two types of situations. In rural areas, one set of condition prevails. In urban areas, a totally different set obtains. Specifically, in the rural areas, English has no immediate relevance, but it is not yet competing with Pilipino. On the other hand, in urban areas, Pilipino is gaining ascendancy; English is rapidly losing its dominant position. Moreover, by force of circumstances, metropolitan areas such as Manila present a situation where languages are in contact and where much code-switching between Pilipino and English takes place. However, metropolitan areas are likewise places where the relevance of a second language such as English is more evident.

The problems which obtain in the Philippines are undoubtedly comparable and of relevance to any other situation in some other ASEAN country where communicative language teaching (for English as a second or foreign language) is carried on among a mass base, throughout the country, in a setting less than ideal for language acquisition, and with a staff far from being fully qualified as language teachers to carry on English instruction, let alone creative communicative language teaching. However, most likely, inspite of the shortcomings in the competence in English of the average Filipino teacher in the rural schools, she is still a few rungs above her peer in other countries in the region similarly situated. (I have no basis for this observation other than impressionistic data.)

I dwell on these factors since the Philippine problem has extra-country relevance outside of its boundaries.

What this picture amounts to is that while there is communication going on in Philippine classrooms in terms of quantity, the quality of this communication leaves much to be desired.

The level of teacher competence in terms of conceptualization and higher cognitive skills is low.

In turn, the pupils acquire mostly passive comprehension skills, not sufficient production skills, so much so that outside of one-word answers and pre-fabricated patterns, they have to resort either to Pilipino or the local vernacular to express themselves, either using local vocabulary or answering whole sentences in Pilipino or in the local vernacular, and when asking questions (rather seldom and infrequent), they do so in Pilipino or in the vernacular.

Both teachers and pupils seem to suffer from what Basil Bernstein would probably likewise call a "restricted code" and in my opinion the continuous use of this restricted code leads eventually to a form of cognitive poverty or deprivation. For the kind of question-and-answer technique being used seems to exist from Grade 1 to Grade 6, for all subjects. The form of questioning is found even in Grade 6, although as the pupils go up the ladder, there is more use of English in Region III and Region VIII (Iloilo) but more use of Pilipino in Tagalog-speaking areas. Moreover, even in non-Tagalog areas such as Region III, where most pupils are bilingual in Tagalog and the local vernacular, there is about 10 per cent code-switching (to Pilipino) even in Grade 6, especially in science subjects, which are heavy on content rather than skills.

What this seems to indicate is that pupils finishing elementary school are still linguistic infants as far as English is concerned; in an as yet incomplete and not fully analyzed study done by Gonzalez *et al.* (forthcoming), it was found that outside of Manila, in rural areas of lower socio-economic background and even in Metro Manila in the poorer sections, a threshold level of basic communicative competence (using a criterion-referenced instrument based on Alexander and Van Ek 1980) is not attained even after six years of elementary schooling by some. Even if it were attained, at Grade 6 level, the basic competence is merely an introduction to the use of English as a medium through which to attain content and higher cognitive skills. For children in higher socio-economic brackets, this threshold level is attained by the third year of schooling, when instruction in English for more content is possible. However, for children of lower socio-economic status, this possibility does not obtain if ever until the secondary level, which, really leaves very little time for content.

What we need at present is an inquiry into the characterization of an intermediate level of English-language competence as well as of an advanced level, one characterized by the ability to use the second language not merely for basic communication but for further learning and conceptual enrichment and the attainment of the key concepts and controlling paradigms and operational principles of specific disciplines in basic fields such as literature, mathematics, science, social sciences (history, political science, economics, geography). What are the "signs" that a second language learner can now carry on this kind of "thinking" or "thinking in English" which

permits him to apply, analyze, synthesize, infer, evaluate, and creatively imagine in the new language? It is my experience in dealing with foreign language students even in graduate school, including Filipinos who have supposedly been educated in English and who could pass the TOEFL test without difficulty, that they are unable to abstract, to generalize, to go beyond basic findings to implications and then to abstract theoretical constructs from these generalizations and implications. What are the signs in elementary and secondary school for the beginnings of this intermediate or advanced level of communicative competence?

Perhaps a more basic question which must be asked is: How does one arrive at this level, assuming one has gone beyond the threshold level? We do not have the technology for this at present; in fact, we have not paid sufficient attention to it other than to label it as "intermediate" or "advanced" stage of foreign/second language learning.

Thus, what is upmost in the mind of the dedicated Filipino educator who sees the need for this competence for the rural folk (since it would be even more difficult to use a still uncultivated language like Pilipino for this even if he wants to) in a setting where there is no supportive English-speaking community outside the classroom and where the usually reinforcing agencies or components found in Metro Manila are lacking is a search for the means to bring about this advanced level of communicative competence.

For the plain and simple fact is that in the short term, English is quite irrelevant to our children outside of Metro Manila, even in the urban centers outside of Manila. How is one to speak of communication and to stimulate a desire to *communicate in English* (the second or foreign language) when there is precious little use for English in his environment in Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Zambales, Bulacan, Bataan, unless he lives close to Clark Airbase in Angeles, Pampanga or to Subic Naval Base in Olongapo, Zambales, where the need to communicate in English has immediate relevance and rewards in terms of profitable interaction with English speakers.

Outside of these two areas, where there is a large English-speaking minority offering incentives both financial and social, there is no English-speaking community anywhere else unless of course one lived in the more urbanized areas, the capitals; even here the use of English would be minimal, only in certain restricted domains

(offices), for certain topics (business, technical, scientific) and only with certain professionals (legal, medical, commercial at the highest levels). Most interaction, in these places must still be carried on in the local vernacular (even with the doctor, the priest, the lawyer) for informal transactions or in Pilipino (with a non-native or an immigrant living in the place or with a stranger passing by) (see Dumaran 1980 and Fabregas 1982).

Even in the mass media, especially for prime time watching (see AIJ 1983) much programming is now in Pilipino, with little or none in the vernacular, and with English still used during approximately 40 per cent of transmission time and of prime-time; however, most programs in English are watched only in urban areas since what are most popular elsewhere are the local movies, all in Pilipino at present.

Thus for practical purposes, the problem of the English-language teacher and even the Pilipino-teacher in a non-Tagalog area, will be to re-create in the classroom in a period of something like three hours a day (the time allotted each day for English Language, Mathematics, Science) an ecology or an environment where communication (initially basic, subsequently focused on specific fields calling for different registers) will stimulate, reinforce English-language use in as spontaneous and natural a way as possible and at an advanced level to create "new" learning (following Krashen's [1981] input hypothesis).

Making the Irrelevant Relevant

Based on the Philippine case, a case which undoubtedly will find parallels in other countries of ASEAN, what is one to do in terms of language programming and implementation?

Undoubtedly, wherever English is used extensively in the lower grades, taught as a subject and/or used as a medium of instruction, a similar situation exists if one is faced with inadequately prepared teachers whose own competence in English leaves much to be desired, whose ability to conceptualize higher cognitive content in English is limited, and if one is faced with rural children who see little immediate use for the language in a social milieu without a supportive English-speaking community and without tangible incentives and rewards presently to motivate the students to learn and to use English. Moreover, outside of the somewhat artificial milieu of the

English-language classroom (as a content subject or as a medium of instruction), the dominant language is the local language, Pilipino or the vernacular, and English is not heard or used elsewhere. Among themselves, at an informal level, the teachers themselves use the local language; among pupils, the same obtains; and outside, teacher-pupil interactions themselves are in the local vernacular. There are no mass media contacts with English, except through the newspapers and an occasional movie in town.

Moreover, there is tremendous peer pressure, both among the teachers and among the pupils, *not* to use English; in fact, if one were to use English instead of the local vernacular, one would be thought unusual, isolated, elitist, and perhaps a show-off! The presence of the Thomasites or the native speaker of English as supervisor or superintendent which made the earlier use of English natural no longer obtains. At best, one has missionaries in the barrios these days who are themselves probably not native speakers of English but some European language and with whom one uses English as a lingua franca.

Outside the classroom, again with both teachers and pupils, the domain of English for practical purposes does *not* exist. In the barrios and in rural areas, where expensive stores and offices demanding the use of English are not found, one has no real occasion to use English. The few movies which come to the poblacion are usually in Pilipino rather than in English; in these areas, there is still no access to television (the Asian Institute of Jounalism 1983 surveys show only 2 million TV households in the whole country of 52 million, 70 per cent of them in Luzon). At best, newspapers come late; they are probably the only contact in English. Most households would not spend money for a newspaper, but they will pass around komiks in Pilipino. There will hardly be any foreigners coming to town; hence, the other domain of English, international contacts, would not exist. One will speak English with the English supervisor and perhaps with one's superiors — as far as the teachers are concerned. With the pupils, occasions for English use are nil, since the domains of English, business and international relations, are even more non-existent for pupils than for teachers.

Hence, for practical purposes, the natural uses of English in a rural context in the Philippine setting would be confined to the artificial classroom milieu, between four walls, in the English

Language class and under present policy in the Mathematics and Science classes.

A comparable situation exists in the kampongs of Malaysia and of Indonesia and the villages of Thailand, and except for better access to the mass media in a highly urbanized society, the same situation would probably exist for the tenements of Singapore. Certainly, the occasions for English use are even fewer in Hong Kong, where the dominant language is Cantonese and where even Mandarin had a difficult time surviving!

Under these circumstances, many of the new methodologies and approaches become irrelevant. Lozanov's (1978) suggestopaedia demands an expensive milieu for any kind of learning; perhaps some of the total physical response activities of Asher (1977) would work but then these would be only at the initial stages of language learning. Undoubtedly, too, some of the techniques of Gattegna's (1969) *Silent Way* and its emphasis on listening would find application but again, only at the initial levels of language learning. The community counselling techniques of Curran (1976) might provide novelty and moments of interest among youngsters: perhaps with the aid of better students, one can use some of the community counselling techniques even in the upper levels. But many of these techniques, as Sibayan (personal communication) points out, are really only for the first stages of language learning. They do not reach the heart of the problem, the transition to the use of English as a medium of intellection and not merely basic communication. The natural method (Krashen and Terrell 1983) or an adaptation of the context of situation method and finding natural ways of wanting to say something to someone in English in a rural setting seems to be a more feasible approach.

Some Suggestions

The following suggested approaches, based on observations of some successful situations in the Philippines, might find application not only in the rest of the country but elsewhere, in similar social contexts. They are offered merely as possible avenues towards making the irrelevant relevant. Ultimately, they try to re-create in a social situation a situation where the use of English becomes natural and spontaneous rather than labored and studied.

Creating a Subculture of English in a Rural Setting

In some cases, in the Philippines, in university and college communities, as a result of historical factors which have become part of tradition, one encounters academic communities where English is naturally used. We need in-depth sociolinguistic analyses to discover the factors (economic, social, cultural, anthropological, historical, perhaps even political) that have created such mini-communities and subcultures and perhaps even more important that have maintained them.

I am thinking specifically of situations such as Silliman University in Dumaguete City (a Cebuano-speaking community), La Salle College in Bacolod (a Hiligaynon-speaking community), the Easter School in Baguio (an Ilocano and Northern Philippine languages speaking community). Without doubt, there are many more examples; I cite these three only because I have had personal contacts with these communities. Certainly, in the provinces that used to be called the Mountain Province (now subdivided into the provinces of Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao), among tribal minorities for the most part culturally isolated from the lowlands and speaking several Northern Philippine languages but with Ilocano as a lingua franca, one finds an eagerness, a pride, a taken-for-granted vigorous attempt to speak English and to speak it well. In the academic communities earlier mentioned, one might almost say that within the academic community, a kind of standard prevails, a kind of in-community "accent" or manner of speaking which is markedly different from the "accent" used outside. In Manila, before the War and after the War until the 1960s, one spoke of an Arrneowww (Ateneo) accent, which is now lost. The accent is not quite as distinctive at Dumaguete, Bacolod, or Baguio, but there is enough differentiation from the first-language influenced variety of English prevalent in these communities to differentiate the local educated English from a kind of Philippine English which would not be quite an intelligible outside and in international circles.

We need to isolate the factors which have created this situation over time and which maintain the situation. Clearly, in the case of the Ateneo de Manila University phenomenon, the main cause of the loss of the 'Ateneo-accent' was probably the nationalistic movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s which made such an accent suspect. Moreover, the presence of American Jesuits and specifically the in-

fluence of a charismatic teacher of Shakespearean English created this earlier milieu; as the American Jesuits retired and as the presence of this charismatic teacher no longer made itself felt, another accent began to prevail. Too, the larger intake of students at the university level, no longer from the Ateneo High School (where the "accent" prevailed or began to be acquired) created a kind of diluting effect. In any case, it no longer exists.

But when one comes upon students and professors of Silliman University in Dumaguete, La Salle College in Bacolod, and Easter School in Baguio, one does usually come upon a variety of the English language which is quite impressive because so easily intelligible. One suspects that what keeps this accent going is the continuing presence of native-speakers of English (now much diminished and no longer occupying key administrative positions) with whom there is enough interaction and among whose pupils (now faculty members and administrators of the university) this accent still finds use. Unobtrusively, one still expects "good English" spoken on campus, inspite of the reports about "deterioration", and the accent somehow persists.

One suspects too that in the mountain provinces, English is not competing with filipino, the way it is in the lowlands, especially in the Metro Manila area. The Northern Philippine provincial person feels secure with his own vernacular and with Ilocano, his lingua franca. He speaks English with the tourists and the foreigners who continue to visit the area and he accepts the fact that since English is a foreign tongue and must be learned as such, he speaks the language the way the foreigners speak it (as much as he can approximate the standard) so as to be able to carry on business with the foreigner and sell his goods without hang-ups arising from nationalism and the desire to create an indigenous Philippine variety of English.

Moreover, institutionally, in hotels in Metro Manila, in restaurants and in shops which cater for the most part to the foreign community, there is an unconscious linguistic accommodation to speak a more standard form of American English (the one the speaker heard he was supposed to use in school) based on mercantile motivations and, in the case of some, motivation to advertise one's availability as a suitable spouse for a foreign partner.

The problem then is: Is it possible to create such a milieu and the acceptance of such a standard in an isolated barrio school where

no comparable motivation exists and more important where no contact with a foreigner is possible?

One thinks not. The standard of the teacher most likely will not be good since it is not the best teachers who get assigned or who accept these hardship posts.

Since the presence of a native speaker (perhaps one is sufficient, depending on the frequency and quality of the contacts) seems to be the key factor in the situations already mentioned and even in the system during the days of American Occupation, then it may be that one way of bringing about a suitable standard will be to invite the lone foreigner in the community to spend some hours a week interacting with the students in an informal setting where communication can take place without self-consciousness. The missionary (Catholic or Protestant) who may happen to be in the area, or the Peace Corps volunteer who lives in town, could perform this function. In areas around American enclaves such as Subic in Zambales and Angeles in Pampanga, getting volunteers to do this kind of work should be quite simple and without expense. In the mountain provinces and in mining areas in Zambales and Davao and in large logging concessions in Northern Mindanao, plantations in Central and Southern Mindanao, multinational branches in various areas, such foreigners may be found — if not the man himself, then members of his family. Surely, some form of volunteer work interacting with the locals would not be an imposition and would create the milieu for this kind of creative interaction, which will probably spell the difference between language maintenance and language attrition or even language death.

Creating a Make-believe World in the Classroom

Much harder to bring about would be the creation of a make-believe world in the classroom where English becomes natural. However, one can take courage and motivation in the fact that this has been done in the Philippines ever since English was first taught on these islands. It is just that the task is so much harder to do these days because of the changed social and political situation in the country.

How does one bring about what the poet Coleridge would call "a willing suspension of disbelief" within the classroom so that the pupils can be persuaded to make-believe temporarily that inside the

English classroom, English will be the medium of discourse even for such everyday native realities as greetings, saying goodbye, taking a meal. In composing one's syllabus and one's materials, a modification of the usual inventory of situations is needed, since one seldom goes to a post office in this country (not even in Manila); one does not use English at table and ask someone to pass the bread and the jam since one eats dried fish and fried rice at breakfast; neither does one go around sitting at home and talking English to one's mother or father.

I think that the atmosphere of "let's pretend" should be brought into the classroom right away and then the children can take on different personae for whom the use of English is natural. As long as the children and especially the older students know that they are enacting a ritual, presenting a drama or a skit — role-playing, in other words — then the role which calls for the use of English becomes natural within the frame of reference of that make-believe world.

Thus, Filipinos have no trouble adopting a totally British or American pronunciation — with naturalness and without self-consciousness — if they are singing the song of a music idol. In fact, for rock, country music, and jazz, assuming a Cockney accent or a mid-Western twang or even a Southern drawl becomes natural, because simulated. To me, one viable alternative is to exploit music as a medium of teaching, since the influence of Western popular music, British and American, is pervasive even in the barrios. Another activity would be the presentation of skits, playlets, dramas which call for role-playing. In these circumstances, English is natural and a foreign standard likewise easily acceptable.

Hence, variety shows, amateur hour programs, a sequence of song and dance numbers, recitatives, skits should be natural activities done on a regular basis by all English classes.

Still another mode of discourse in English which becomes natural would be parliamentary procedure and debates, which though actually in use only in Manila and in the National Assembly (Batasang Pambansa) can be undertaken as simulated exercises; make-believe courts of law, where English is still used even in the provinces, are likewise viable situations calling for role-playing; these activities have much appeal for young people.

If in ordinary discourse outside of these role-playing situations

the student reverts to his more natural mode of speaking, at least one has given him the resource to use a more internationally accepted standard when the situation calls for it in the future. When young people from the provinces are forced by circumstances in Manila or abroad to use English naturally, they do so without hesitation and with much success. The mastery of another variety of Philippine English is there and can be called upon as a resource at some future date when its use becomes natural and not merely a situation of role-playing. I have seen this bidialectalism work with many of my former students from the provinces, now living in Metro Manila.

Creating a Content-challenging Milieu in the Classroom

I am convinced with many others that a formerly occupied colony will lose its mastery of the colonial language — even among the elites — once it ceases using the colonial language as a medium of instruction and relegates it merely to be a language subject to be studied.

To me, once a policy like this is adopted, it will spell language death for the colonial language. I do not challenge the rationale for the decision; for political reasons, one may need to make such a policy decision, but one must live with the consequences of such and not be naive and expect that one can maintain the colonial language for international use with the country's elite through an arrangement in effect resulting in language attrition. Hence, a bilingual education policy, with its many permutations, is perhaps the only viable compromise if one wishes to maintain competence in the colonial language at least among an elite and for one's business and international contacts. If one does decide to maintain the colonial language, then one must reserve at least some content subjects to continue to be taught in it.

In the Philippines, the policy decision is to keep the domains of science, mathematics and technology under English. Our actual classroom use, based on the data reported in the first part of this paper, indicates that initially, we have to use the local vernacular or Pilipino as a crutch, under the euphemism of "auxiliary language", but as the student continues in the system, the use of English becomes almost exclusive especially in non-Tagalog areas where English is not in competition with Pilipino. Moreover, the data likewise indicate that there is less code-switching going on in

Mathematics but more code-switching in Science even in the upper grades, although the Pilipino proportion is relatively small (about 10 per cent); again this holds true for the most part in non-Tagalog speaking areas, where English is not in competition with Pilipino.

In Science and Mathematics, as the years go on, the subject matter of these subjects becomes more abstract and less tied to Philippine realities. It does not become unnatural then to speak of subparticle physics in English, for it would be even more unnatural to attempt to do so in Pilipino, at least in the present state of development of Pilipino.

At this advanced level of learning, Scientific English and English for Specific Purposes become natural components of programming, especially at the secondary levels and even in the upper elementary school years. What seems to be important in these areas is to speak of scientific and mathematical topics, content areas that are intrinsically interesting to a young person and an adolescent. One can then speak of scientific realities and principles, using readily accessible materials. In the area of literature, one should resist the temptation to turn the classics (which are recorded in a historically different dialect of English); at least for these years one must stay with modern English and in the genres and forms and types of literature appealing to young people: espionage, detective stories, romance.

These materials may not be easily accessible because of budgetary restrictions. One must then use the most accessible source, the daily newspaper, as well as excerpts from old books (obtainable through Asia Foundation book grants), movie magazines, old periodicals, comic books.

Above all, these topics must be discussed in group work; group dynamics techniques for personal growth problems should be used. Here the community learning model of Curran (1976), really based on group dynamics techniques, lends itself easily as a technique of communicative teaching.

In line with Krashen's (1981) input hypothesis, one must not be afraid to challenge the students with higher cognitive "thought" questions and to expose them to more difficult samples of language so as to induce the language acquisition device to revise its internal grammar.

As enrichment activities under this approach, discussions of

movies, books, contemporary events lend themselves to the natural use of higher order language which will then stimulate language growth and mastery, for again it would be even more unnatural to use an uncultivated language such as Pilipino for these tasks.

Summary and Conclusions

Under the three types of approaches I have suggested, specific suggestions (for example those in Littlewood 1980 and Blair 1982) for actual classroom use can be implemented according to the age and level of competence of the students. The key is to create natural situations in the classroom which spontaneously call for communication in English.

However, as this paper points out, there are larger social and political factors which must be considered to make any kind of programming and methodology truly viable.

The problems called attention to are systemic and structural, and are typical of similar situations in other countries where the social and teaching conditions have parallels. They cannot be solved by microsolutions to problems but have to be tackled at a more systemic and higher level.

Always, however, we must be relevant — and natural — even if our tasks seem hopelessly irrelevant!

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Teaching for Communicative Competence in a Second Language

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Introduction

It seems safe to say that one of the most important, if not *the* most important, goals of language teaching, especially that of second language (2L) teaching, is that of communicative competence

Communicative competence (CC) as used in this paper shall simply mean the ability of the user of the 2L in and out of the schoolroom but most especially in actual life situations that call for the use of the 2L (cf. Widdowson 1977, 1979, Strevens 1977, Littlewood 1981). Because of this wider concept of CC, I would like to propose that communicative competence means the attainment of various levels and types of CC; by level I mean the kind of CC that is achieved after say four or six years of schooling, graduation from high school; by types I mean CC in various content subjects or specialized areas that are discipline based and occupation or hobby based activities. The concept of variable multiple levels and types of CC borrows from but extends the concept of threshold level of the Council of Europe (van EK 1975:13–14). A useful distinction in the discussion of CC is Widdowson's "usage" for the grammar and "use" for what he calls value which roughly corresponds to Littlewood's structure (i.e., grammar) and communication function respectively.

Most of the literature on second language teaching and learning including those on teaching for communication or the acquisition of CC deal with methods/procedures/techniques, the nature of language, structural and functional views of language, the applications of linguistic, psychological and sometimes sociological findings in the teaching of a second language (see for example Andersen 1981, Blair 1982, Cohen 1980, Dobson 1983, Krashen and Terrell 1983, Littlewood 1981, Paulston, et al. 1975, Widdowson 1978, 1979). A writer who treats topics such as those on policy and aims, administration and organization, teacher training, etc. is Strevens (1977).

I would like to take up in this paper certain matters that I think

have to do with the teaching for communicative competence in a 2L which are not as extensively discussed in the literature. Among these are such things as:

(1) implications of accepting a second language or non-native variety of English which I shall call an accommodation variety as a model for teaching and learning the 2L;

(2) important shifts in thinking among people using 2Ls and other realities such as those of nationalism, development of national languages and their effects on 2L learning and teaching;

(3) teacher training;

(4) supportive institutions;

(5) some views on the relative importance of grammar, literature, content subjects and that of reading and writing.

Accommodation Varieties of English

Any discussion of communicative competence in 2L situations cannot escape a consideration of the 2L varieties that have developed in non-English contexts or environments. These varieties have generally been called "interference varieties" (see for example Quirk cited by Strevens 1977:140 and Kachru 1979 among many others). I want to call these "accommodation"[2] varieties for a number of reasons: first, the term is more felicitious than "interference" because in the use of the term interference it is always the first language of the non-native speaker that is being referred to as interfering with the 2L (English for example); second, the two languages that have come in contact have accommodated themselves to each other — the 2L variety has accommodated a number of the features of the native language of the user (for example, trilled /r/ instead of retroflex /r/ in Philippine English) and the fact that the 2L speaker has accommodated certain English intonational patterns which makes his English approximate that of native English. The accommodation variety would thus satisfy the international criterion; its intonation takes on a national character because it hides or masks the first language characteristic of the native language. I shall say more on this later. Also, in the accommodation variety, the native speaker of English accepts the non-native variety including certain not exactly-native English characteristics such as changes in meanings. Kachru (who, I understand, is in favor of educated "interference" varieties as models for teaching) puts it in the following words: "It

might turn out that for certain communicative acts a native speaker may have to learn certain characteristic features of a *national* or a *local* variety of English. Thus, an Englishman may have to 'de-Englishize' himself, and an American 'de-Americanize' himself in order to understand these national varieties" (Kachru 1979:37). The term "accommodation" is not just a euphemism, it is both realistic and, more important, diplomatic.

We must now ask the question: What variety of English should be used as the model for teaching in a non-English environment? This is a complex question because of the very serious implications of whatever choice is made.[3]

If we say the first language variety which in the case of English would be either British English or American English[4] should be the model, we run into such difficulties as:

(1) it may clash head-on with many feelings including those of nationalism — a subject I will discuss separately in this paper;

(2) it may revive certain memories that have to do with the colonial past, memories that are better forgotten; but even worse;

(3) it would mean that we would ignore the educated non-native variety which has characteristics that are acceptable and do no violence to English — in fact these characteristics have come about because of the contextual environment or culture in which the language was used (see Kachru 1979); it would mean we would have the almost impossible job of "cleansing" the educated 2L variety of its "un-Englishness", a job which is practically impossible;

(4) it is practically impossible to get native speaker models for large 2L learning populations today.

On the other hand if we decide that we will use the educated 2L variety as the model for educational teaching and learning purposes, we must be ready to accept certain consequences. We also have to do certain important tasks, of which the following are the most important:

(1) We must undertake both rigorous linguistic and pedagogical descriptions of the 2L variety. It seems to me that these descriptions would not only involve the phonology that may deviate most from the native variety (for example most educated Filipinos speaking English in the Philippine setting have one pronunciation for the words 'cat', 'cut', and 'cot') but also a description of the changes in the vocabulary items, which means that a dictionary may have to

be written. It might not be necessary to make a separate description of the syntax. The dictionary will have to indicate not only the "standard" meanings which would be labelled "British" or "American" and the new meanings which may be entirely new or variations (for example in Philippine English the word "salvage" means "to execute, especially with reference to the police executive undesirable or suspected criminal elements").

A dictionary of the 2L varieties of English used in South Asia would not only be very interesting but would be very useful to Asians and to native speakers of English alike. Such a dictionary might indicate the British and American pronunciation of a word, the accepted 2L variety (Filipino, Malaysian, Singaporean, Indian, etc.); the British, American, and accommodation variety meanings. Such a dictionary should facilitate communication among users of the 2L varieties.[5]

Accepting an educated 2L variety as the model for teaching and learning the second language imposes on the nation the distinct possibility of accepting a variety of the 2L that will be less and less like the original language which has adopted (cf. Prator 1968).

Nationalism and other Important "Realities"

A programme for the acquisition of communicative competence in a 2L must take into account shifts in national aspirations and values especially those that are related to language. The worldwide phenomenon of the search for identity and independence via nationalism[6] in terms of the development of national languages has resulted in a number of realities which cannot be ignored, some of the important ones being: the shift in emphasis to the national language puts the 2L in a position where it no longer enjoys the loyalties that people attached to it in the past; the time devoted to the 2L for its acquisition, the finances devoted to its propagation, and the language domains in which it was formerly used are reduced, which means that acquisition of CC in the 2L becomes much more difficult. And yet the competence required so that the 2L may be used well has not been reduced.[7]

Problem of Separation of Codes: The Mixing of Pilipino and English

The expressed goal of the government "that the Filipino shall

be competent to communicate in both English and Pilipino" is the basis of the bilingual education program where English is used as language of instruction in science and mathematics subjects and Pilipino in the social sciences and others (Sibayan 1978a). In assigning English for the teaching of science and mathematics and Pilipino for all other subjects, it was thought that the two languages would be kept as separate codes. This goal has not been achieved, however, especially in schools where Tagalog (the basis of Pilipino) is the native language. The two languages have not been kept apart, which has resulted in a mixture of the two languages now known as Taglish (Bautista 1980, Sibayan 1983). This code switching has worried many parents and school authorities. They think that English has "deteriorated" and that children do not know "good" Pilipino either thus making them incompetent in both languages. Those in charge of the development of Pilipino are not worried about the spread of the mixture, however.[8]

Strategies in the Acquisition of CC in a 2L Role of the Schools

I don't think the Philippines is alone among countries in the faith of the people in the schools to accomplish many of the goals of society, which includes the teaching of language. In fact people think of the schools as the main agency in the solution of many problems. The schools teach the 2L and other agencies continue and strengthen their use. It is circular in the sense that the schools teach the 2L (or any language for that matter) because it is needed by the various domains in society.

It is for this reason that practically all discussions on the teaching and learning of a 2L for intranational and international purposes revolve around the school programs and finally around the teacher and pupil. The success of the schools, however, depends on many other factors, some of which we consider in this paper.

Literature, Grammar (Structure)

There was a period when the teaching of English was dominated by the use of literary pieces and rules of grammar. This was gradually abandoned so that today the teaching of English as a 2L is dominated by English for Science and Technology (EST) and English for special purposes (ESP). These are opposite extremes. I propose that we consider that there is a place for both. Also in the

Philippines today, there is a prevailing notion that the English department is a service arm of all content subjects — that the teacher should teach the language of physics, chemistry, mathematics, etc. I think this is wrong. It should be the subject teacher who should teach the language of his subject (cf. Widdowson 1978:16).

While the language teacher should know something about the content of the various subjects and may encourage students to write on scientific and mathematics subjects, her main duty should be to teach good literature and the structure (grammar) of the language. A 2L learner has to know at least how the language works because he does not possess the 'intuitive' feel of the native speaker for the language. The 2L learner needs to have aids such as dictionaries, thesauri, and some of the most important rules of grammar (this latter need is in accord with the cognitive theory of learning a language). The need for learning "usage" or structure should be accomplished in the language class. Even "use" or communication function should be taught in the language class, but a large part of this aspect of learning has to be done through the school subjects and other activities that approximate real life situations or real life situations outside school. I repeat that it is the duty of the subject teacher to teach the language needed to learn the content of the subject being taught.

The student needs to know some of the universal literature available in the English language: Grimm's fairy tales, Aesop's fables, Hans Christian Andersen's stories, some Shakespeare, Pope, Keats, and others. Greek and Roman mythology available in English from which English has borrowed some important expressions (e.g., Herculean effort, Achilles heel, etc.) should be part of his education and learning of the language. We should also use literature in English by non-native writers, much of which comes under the cover name of Afro-Asian literature in English.

The Importance of Reading

In an environment where the 2L is used for intranational purposes, the ability to read is more important than the ability to speak. Reading is the one single tool that enables the learner to continue learning in the 2L. The pupil who fails to learn to read will soon drop out of school. This is not minimizing the value of the spoken form; it only places emphasis on priorities in a 2L environment. We must re-

mind ourselves that even the native speaker of English has to go to school to learn to read and write his own language if he expects to be an effective member of his society. The 2L learner has the added burden of learning to speak the 2L well. That is why the 2L learner should stay in school longer for a pre-university education; unfortunately this is not the case in the Philippines where we only have ten years of pre-university education. It is not difficult for one to imagine the tremendous burden of the non-Tagalog Filipino child trying to learn two second languages, one imported from overseas, English, and the local second language, Pilipino. But this is the subject of another essay; so I shall not dwell on it here.

More time and effort, therefore, should be devoted to reading in the 2L; to get a feel of the cohesion (cf. Widdowson 1978) of passages and to learn usage; reading in the content subjects to learn what is needed to learn, for example, in science and mathematics and later the content of the subjects in the specialized fields for the various professions. With special reference to technology, the 2L learner must attain a great degree of competence in comprehending and understanding and applying what is read, as soon as possible.

Use of the First Language in 2L Teaching/Learning

I shall digress a bit here and say something about the use of the native language of the 2L learner. In a second language situation, the reading of the subject matter may be done in the 2L and discussion of what is read bilingually need not be discouraged especially if the subject matter is difficult.[9]

While on the subject of reading, I may report two studies which my colleagues and I undertook. The first has to do with beginning reading. In a study on Instructional Management by Parents, Community and Teachers (Project IMPACT) we found that when beginners were taught how to read by pupils who knew how to read, (who in a sense were their peers), all learners learned how to read. On the other hand, in many schools in the Philippines under regular teachers, many pupils do not learn how to read in the first year of schooling. (See Sibayan, Dagot, Segovia and Sumagaysay 1983:93.)

The other study involved pupils in grades four to six (forms four to six in Malaysia and Singapore) in a regular school in Pasay City in the Metro Manila area and grades three to six at the laboratory school of the Philippine Normal College. The pupils read

in an independent study situation with the use of "Self-Learning Kits" (SLKs). We found that not everyone in the classroom could profit or learn from SLKs. The child who learns most from SLKs is one who

(1) understands printed directions;

(2) is able to read the text independently;

(3) is able to read and comprehend English (for materials written in that language);

(4) possess high ability in the grade for which the SLK is written;

(5) needs minimal cueing (meaning assistance from the teacher);

(6) has access to assistance at home; and

(7) reviews his work, understands why he makes an incorrect answer, and is able to make the necessary corrections (Sibayan, Segovia and Dagot 1976).

The Teacher and her Education

Let us now turn our attention to the teacher of and in the 2L. It is universally recognized that the first step in the education of a teacher is selection: that the "proper" and the "best" candidate for teaching should be attracted to the teaching profession. Unfortunately, in the Philippines, not the very best of those who graduate from high school enter teachers' colleges. There are many reasons for this and the most important is that the teacher is poorly paid.[10]

The future teacher we are considering here is a non-native speaker of English. Some may not even have spoken with a native speaker of English. It is possible that the only spoken native variety of English she may have been exposed to are those of the movies, TV or radio. In the Philippines she (the feminine pronoun is used because the great majority of Filipino teachers are women, see note 11) would be between sixteen and seventeen years old, has had ten years of school education, six elementary and four high school. She has had instruction in science and mathematics mainly in English and in accordance with the bilingual education program that went into effect in 1974, she would have had instruction in all other subjects in Pilipino, although in many schools outside Manila and the Tagalog speaking areas, she would have been instructed mainly in English and some Pilipino. Many of the books in the social sciences and

other subjects that are supposed to be taught in Pilipino may have been read in English and discussed in a mixture of English and Pilipino.

With very few exceptions, it is difficult to carry on an extended conversation with her on most subjects with the exclusive use of English; the chances are that she may answer questions propounded in English with Pilipino answers or in Taglish.

The goal of teacher education is to take this student through a four year college curriculum to make her proficient in both English and Pilipino for teaching the two languages and the content subjects — a very tall order indeed.[11]

The Supportive Force of the Society

According to Strevens "... second language learning now emerges as a process and a task which for its further improvement requires an ever-deepening knowledge of its three equipollent elements: the mind of the learner, the nature of language, and the skill of the teacher" (Streven 1977:11). It seems to me that a fourth equipollent element needs to be added, namely, the "supportive force of the society". This fourth element is the proper area of scholarly concern of the rapidly growing discipline of sociolinguistics. This element pormises some of the most exciting studies in bilingual education, multilingualism, language and identity, language and nationalism, language and socio-economic development, the politics of language, the language of protest, etc. Knowledge in these and a host of others are needed for a greater understanding of how a people and a nation may improve the teaching, use, and related programs involving a 2L. The promise of the future is exciting indeed.

Supportive Institutions in 2L CC Acquisition

I must now make a plea for considering more studies on the role of non-school institutions such as mass communication media — radio, television, the movies, the theater, newspapers, magazines, the "comics" in the acquisition of CC in the 2L. How about places of work and other organizations? Should there be a coordinated program between the schools under the Ministers of Education with these institutions, at least with some of them?

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Dr. Andrew B. Gonzalez, FSC, for reading the manuscript critically and for discussion of various concepts in this paper and for his lending me several references from his library collection; to Dr. Edilberto P. Dagot for reading and criticising the manuscript in addition to discussions of various points; to Professor Lorna Z. Segovia, director of the Research Center, Philippine Normal College, for assistance in location of references and for furnishing data from the DATABANK of the Research Center; to Professor Norma L. Jaramillo, for various kinds of assistance and to Mila R. Arcibal for typing services.
2. Dr. Dagot told me that he had suggested the term "accommodation" to Goulet, who used it in Goulet (1971:76). My use of the term which I had thought of independently covers a wider range of concepts than Goulet's.
3. For one of the most cogent essays on the use of standard English see Honey 1983; for a polemical piece, see Prator 1968; and for descriptions and seemingly favourable essays on the adoption of accommodation varieties (2L varieties) see Strevens 1977, 1979 and Kachru 1979.
4. I am not aware of any non-native English-speaking country that has opted for Australian, New Zealand, or Canadian English, and the reason is quite obvious — these countries have never colonized any country and therefore have not had the opportunity of imposing their brand of native English.
5. In 1967 David Crystal of the University of Reading, England, had a proposal for a project on a dictionary of English in non-native countries such as those of Africa and Asia. He asked me to coordinate the Philippine effort. The project did not materialize because of lack of funding sponsors.
6. A characteristic of the new nationalism is its rejection of, or ambivalent feelings towards, the 2L, which is generally the colonial language, because its continued propagation is seen as a propagation of the colonial past. This rejection or ambivalence results in hesitations and doubts on the validity of the acquisition of communicative competence in the 2L especially if the spoken form tends to be as near native speaker like as possible.
7. Up to the present the 2L (English) is the main language of government, education, the courts and the law, mass communication (although in the entertainment domain Taglish is very much more used), business and industry. The learning of the second language, therefore, is for "instrumental" purposes.
8. For example, Director Ponciano Pineda of the Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (Institute of National Language) told me that the mixing of English and Pilipino has benefited Pilipino and he has encouraged it (personal conversation during the 1984 annual convention of the National Research Council of the Philippines on March 10, 1984). One thing that the use of Taglish has done in the schools is that it has made students express themselves more. This is the opinion of Dr. Dagot, president of the Philippine Normal College. How good these discussions are, however, depends on how good the speakers are in both languages. Among adult speakers, the best in mixing the two languages are those who are most proficient in both, an observation made by Gonzalez (1977).
9. As a boy my classmates and I used to solve our arithmetic problems on ratio and

proportion and various types of percentage by discussing them in our native language using English terms not translatable in the NL much as those who code-switch in English and Pilipino do today. Recently, two of my sons fixing the car used the same style, one read the instructions in English while they tried to understand what was required by using the native language as the main language of discussion but using non-translatable English terms in the discussion. Doing these activities entirely in English would have been very difficult indeed and would have led to a lack of understanding of what was required.

10. During the past school year (1983–84), many teachers of the Philippines did something that they never did in the past. In Manila alone, 17,000 teachers went on "mass leave" or "work slowdown" (euphemisms for "strike") to demand increase in their salaries and fringe benefits such as cost of living allowance, transportation allowance, and longevity pay. (See Cunanan, Belind Olivares, Once apolitical, the underpaid, overworked teachers get into the ACT. Mr. & Ms. February 24, 1984, pp. 4–7.)
11. To give the reader an idea of those who go into the teaching profession, data on 660 (50 per cent of) freshmen who entered the Philippine Normal College (the oldest government institution of higher learning and by consensus the best in teacher education) during the academic year 1983–84 should be revealing:

    Male = 49 (7%), Female = 611 (93%). Ages: 15 years old = 18 (3%), 16 yrs = 199 (30%), 17 years = 240 (36%), 18 yrs. = 100 (15%), 19 yrs. = 34 (5%) and 20 yrs. and above = 69 (11%).

    Family size (number of children in family where they came from): 1–2 = 32 (5%), 3–5 = 261 (39%), 6–8 = 273 (41%), 9–11 = 83 (13%), 12–14 = 11 (2%). Parents' occupation: f = father, m = mother. Self-employed — f = 88 (13%), m = 76 (12%); employee — f = 278 (42%), m = 39 (6%); teacher — f = 31 (5%), m = 69 (10%); laborer — f = 145 (22%); housekeeper — m = 464 (70%); Retired/deceased — f = 118 (18%), m = 12 (2%). Note the scarcity of teachers sending their children to become teachers.

    Monthly income of parents. ₱1,000.00 and below = 387 (59%); ₱1,001 –₱2,000 = 163 (25%); ₱2,001 – ₱3,000 = 43 (6%); ₱3,001 –₱4,000 = 13 (2%); ₱4,001 – ₱5,000 = 4 (less than 1%); ₱5,0001 and above = 8 (1%); and no response = 42 (6%). The poverty-line income for a family of six according to a study made by the Research Center of the Philippine Normal College was ₱1,800. When the data was taken the Philippine peso was eight pesos to one U.S. dollar. At this writing (March 1984) the rate of exchange is officially 14 pesos to one U.S.$.

    Academic ability of the student applicant based on high school grade average: 75% (minimum passing) 75% = 42 (6%); 80 – 84% = 445 (68%); 85 –89% = 158 (24%) and 90 – 94% = 15 (2%). The data shows that 487 (74%) are average students and 173 (26%) are roughly above average students. 446 (68%) came from privately supported high schools and 214 (32%) came from government schools.

    The attrition rate is quite high so that only about 900 (less than 70% of the 1,320 freshmen) graduate to become teachers after four years. The average percentage of those who graduated during the previous five academic years was

68 per cent. I would say that the upper fifty per cent of those graduating are good and the upper 10 to 15 per cent are very good (Source of data: Databank, Research Center, Philippine Normal College. Interpretative statements, however, are mine).

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Opportunities for Learning through the Communicative Approach

PAUL NATION

A danger of the communicative approach, as it is applied to the learning of spoken language, is that it underplays the contribution that the teacher can make to learning.

This paper looks at the ways various pair and group arrangements provide an opportunity for learning a language. By looking at research on the strip story in particular, we can examine the teacher's role in providing opportunity for participation in language activities.

Conditions for Language Acquisition

Several writers have described the conditions that they consider to be essential for the acquisition of another language (Krashen 1981: Terrell 1982). Briefly, acquisition occurs as a result of understanding messages which the learners are interested in, and which include some language which is just beyond their present level of proficiency. The essential features are that the learners

(1) understand

(2) are interested in understanding

(3) meet some new material which is understandable through context

(4) are not worried or threatened by the activity

As I will show, it is not difficult for teachers to arrange various types of activities where these conditions occur. However, from a practical point of view, there is one more essential condition if learning is to occur. That is, there must be sufficient *opportunity for participation* in language activities. I will use research on the strip story to illustrate this point.

The Strip Story

The strip story is an example of the combining arrangement (Nation 1977) applied to group work. In the combining arrangement

information is divided among learners so that each learner has a unique contribution to make. In the strip story, a previously unseen text is cut up so that each sentence or part of a sentence is on a separate piece of paper. The strips of paper are mixed together and are distributed to a group of learners so that each learner has one strip. The learners memorize their sentences and then return the strips to the teacher. This memorization is essential so that the activity is solely a spoken one. If learners keep the strips of paper, it is usually impossible to stop them showing their strips to each other and thus eliminating the need to contribute orally. By telling their sentences to each other and discussing them, the learners try to put the sentences in a sensible order. After collecting the strips of paper *the teacher takes no further part in the activity*, except to listen to the completed story.

Let us now apply the conditions for acquisition to the strip story. In order to do the strip story it is essential that some of the learners understand the sentences that must be put in order. As anyone who has seen the strip story technique in action knows, there is usually a great deal of interest in understanding and thus reaching a solution. This interest arises from the challenge in the activity. The material itself need not be particularly interesting. The amount of new material that is met can come from two sources, from the sentences in the strip story or from the language used to carry out the activity. To ensure this kind of input it would seem desirable to have groups of mixed ability. The fourth condition for acquisition is low anxiety. Because the strip story is a combining activity with each learner being dependent on the others, there should be less likelihood of the threat which could be present in a superior-inferior arrangement (Nation 1976). We have yet to look at the opportunity for participation in the strip story. In order to study this, the sentences spoken during an exercise were classified into three types and were counted for each learner. The first type was repetition of the memorized sentence by the 'owner' of that sentence. The second type was ordering of the sentences like *I'm the third*, *You have the first*, *If we can make an order*, *we have to express our sentence and after discussion we put the order*, *I think we both close together*. The third type involved seeking and giving clarification. This included sentences like *What's your sentence?*, *v-o-y-a-g-e?*, *You mean travel*, *Yes travel*, *by ship*, *O.K?*, *Your sentence start with what word?*, and

repetition of someone else's memorized sentence.

Eight persons were involved in each exercise on the same story. Four different groups were studied, one high proficiency group, one low proficiency group, and two groups each with four high proficiency learners and four low proficiency learners.

Repetition

In all groups the repetition of the memorized sentence was evenly spread. All the learners in a group repeated their sentences about the same number of times. The average number of repetitions depended on the particular ordering strategy used. Some groups checked several times to see if their order was correct by saying their sentences one after the other. In the high proficiency group each sentence was said three or four times. In the low proficiency group each sentence was repeated about ten times. The two mixed groups averaged five and ten repetitions.

In the mixed groups, because overall speaking was generally dominated by the high proficiency learners, the repetitions made up 40 per cent and 60 per cent of the low proficiency learners' speaking and only 20 per cent and 25 per cent of the high proficiency learners' speaking. In the homogeneous groups, repetitions made up about 30 per cent of the speaking.

The value of the repetition part of the strip story is that it makes each person participate and this participation is equally spread, no matter what kind of group is involved. To increase the value of this part of the activity it is worth encouraging the strategy of repeating around the group to check the order.

Ordering

In homogeneous groups the spread of ordering sentences was more even than in mixed groups. In mixed groups two out of the eight speakers did around 50 per cent of the speaking and four speakers did around 75 per cent of the speaking (see Table 1).

Producing ordering sentences involves taking a directive role in the activity. Learners who feel inferior especially in their English proficiency are not so likely to take part in the ordering parts of the strip story. All learners however produced at least one ordering sentence, whereas several learners in mixed groups produced no clarification sentences. The difference between these two types of

sentences could be that ordering sentences direct attention away from the speaker to those being organized. Clarification sentences however direct attention towards the person seeking clarification — a potentially more embarrassing situation.

The ordering sentences are an essential part of the strip story, and of the three types of sentences they were the most frequent type in all groups, accounting for 40 per cent – 60 per cent of the utterances. It is sentences of this type that present the greatest opportunity for language learning during the exercise. This is because such sentences are frequently used, they can be used without directing much attention to the speaker (indeed, several of them seemed to be used as comments rather than as commands), and they are an essential part of the exercise.

If teachers wanted to prepare elementary learners for the strip story exercise the following patterns could be the most useful.

I am	first						
——	second						
You are	.....						
You are	after / before	me	(because	your / my	sentence	contains... / is about)	

Clarification

More than any other type of speaking during the strip story exercise, the amount of clarification sentences depends on proficiency in English and relationships within the group. The group consisting solely of advanced learners used very few clarification sentences. The low proficiency group used many more, and the mixed groups were in between. In most groups, the clarification was dominated by a few of the members of the group. In mixed groups it was usually the advanced learners who dominated.

There are several possible reasons for the uneven spread of clarification sentences in mixed groups.

(1) Low proficiency learners might not know how to seek or give clarification. This is unlikely for two reasons. First, there are very simple ways of seeking and giving clarification, such as saying *What?*, *Again please*, repeating what was just said with question intonation and giving a simple paraphrase of a word. Secondly in the group consisting solely of low proficiency learners, 17 per cent of the

sentences used were clarification and they were fairly evenly spread among all learners in the group.

(2) Another possible reason for an uneven spread of clarification sentences is that low proficiency learners want to participate minimally in the strip story exercise. There is little evidence to support this as a general rule. Minimal participation would involve only repeating the memorized sentences. However, with one exception in each mixed group, each low proficiency learner used as many ordering and clarification sentences as repetitions. Moreover, in the group of only low proficiency learners, repetitions made up only 30 per cent of the utterances.

(3) Another possible reason is that in mixed groups, low proficiency learners might feel a need for clarification but are too shy to ask for it. The evidence supports this reason. In mixed groups low proficiency learners who made up half of the group produced less than 25 per cent of the clarification sentences. Some learners did not produce any. In the group made wholly of low proficiency learners, every learner produced several clarification sentences.

The Spread of Participation

Table 1 shows if the various types of speaking were dominated by a small number of people or not. If the speaking is evenly spread, among the eight members of the group then two people should do around 25 per cent of the speaking and four people should do around 50 per cent of the speaking.

Table 1

The Domination of the Types of Speaking by Two and Four People in the Groups of Eight People

	Mixed 1		Mixed 2		High		Low	
	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	4
Repetition	33%	58%	28%	54%	30%	57%	30%	57%
Ordering	50%	75%	44%	81%	40%	62%	43%	69%
Clarification	64%	88%	50%	76%	71%	100%	37%	65%

In mixed group 1 for example, two people spoke 33 per cent of the repetition sentences. These two plus another two spoke 58 per cent of the repetition sentences. Because 33 per cent and 58 per cent are not too far from 25 per cent and 50 per cent, this indicates the speaking of the repetition sentences were fairly evenly spread among the members of the group. The figures show this for the repetition sentences for all the groups. It is also true to a lesser degree for some of the types of speaking for the High and Low groups.

The low proficiency group used more clarification sentences than the high proficiency group. The less adept learners are at speaking the greater the need for clarification.

The Optimal Group for the Strip Story Exercise

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the optimal group for the strip story exercise is a reasonably homogeneous group of low proficiency learners. There are several reasons for this. First, the overall spread of participation is more even in a homogeneous group. Second, the types of speaking involved are most evenly spread among the learners in such a group. Third, there is less reason for learners to feel anxious about speaking when they are among learners of similar proficiency. Fourth, low proficiency learners need to speak much more than high proficiency learners in order to complete the exercise. So, although mixed proficiency groups might seem intuitively desirable because of the possibility of new input to low proficiency learners, study of the exercise in action gives a different result.

The Superior-Inferior Arrangement

Let us now look briefly at two other types of learning arrangement to see how they might provide the conditions for language acquisition. In the superior-inferior arrangement (Nation 1976), one person has all the information that the others need. This is a typical arrangement for teacher-led classes. The arrangement is also possible with pairs of learners. The 4/3/2 technique (Maurice 1983) is a good example of this. In this technique, each learner in a pair prepares a talk on a particular topic. Then the learners spend four minutes each presenting their talks for each other. After that, they change partners. They present the same talk to their new partner, but this time in only three minutes. Then partners are changed again and the same

talks are presented in two minutes. This technique clearly provides plenty of opportunity for participation. The repetition of the talk to new partners with the pressure to increase fluency because of the decreasing time ensures the interest of the speaker. The interest of the listener will depend on the topic and partly on the knowledge that the listener will soon become the speaker on the same topic.

In a superior-inferior arrangement interest can also come from the challenge of the task. In the following technique the opportunity for participation is maximised. Learners work in pairs. Let us call the learners in one pair Learner A and Learner B. Let us also imagine that Learner A has higher language proficiency than Learner B. Learner A has the task of writing about Learner B. Learner B can tell A anything about himself but he is not allowed to write. A can ask B any questions she wishes in order to write the description. In this exercise the low proficiency learner, B, is superior to A because B has all the information necessary to complete the task. A however, has the job of putting this information into an acceptable written form.

This technique meets all the conditions for language acquisition including providing excellent opportunities for participation. Study of the nature of this participation could give useful information to teachers.

The Co-operating Arrangement

In the superior-inferior arrangement one learner has all the information. In the combining arrangement each learner has different information. In the co-operating arrangement, each learner has the same information and they work together, on the two (or more)-heads-are-better-than-one principle, to complete a task. Typical techniques using this arrangement include group composition, discussion of a reading text, and the use of buzz groups.

Co-operating activities need careful study to see what conditions and types of organization provide the best opportunities for participation. This is a task that teachers can carry out in their own classrooms. Careful observation of learning activities can provide useful information for the improvement of learning. One of the most useful effects of co-operating is the reduction of anxiety. If responsibility is shared, it becomes less of a burden. A weakness in such activities is that the activity is dominated by the learner in the pair or group.

The Communicative Approach and the Teacher

Some advocates of the communicative approach (Allwright 1979) have played down the role of the teacher in language learning. I have tried to show here that even in activities where the teacher's participation is minimal, the teacher still has an important role to play in providing the most favourable opportunities for participation in language activities.

The communicative approach has much to recommend it. It has directed attention to how language is used and to language features beyond the sentence. It has provided an impetus for the development of an exciting range of teaching techniques for both oral and written skills. It also brings with it several dangers. One that I have given attention to here is the down-playing of the role of the teacher. The teacher has one job, and that is to make learning easier. Any avoidance of this role so that the teacher becomes merely a provider of communicative activities seems to me to be totally unprofessional. Other dangers include the equation of communication with spoken activity, and thus a lack of emphasis on reading, and the rejection of many tried and tested techniques and procedures because they do not suit the new orthodoxy. If teachers direct their attention to improving learning rather than following a particular approach most of these dangers will be avoided.

Table 2

Number of Sentence Types in a Mixed Group Exercise
Mixed 2

Learners		Repetition	Ordering	Clarification	Total
L O W	1	12	1	1	14
	2	11	10	0	21
	3	11	7	1	19
	4	9	6	5	20
H I G H	5	9	21	5	35
	6	10	19	4	33
	7	9	31	6	46
	8	11	33	7	51
Total		82	128	29	239

Table 2 (*continued*)

Reasons for preferring a low proficiency homogeneous group:

1 Even spread of total participation for each learner.
2 Even spread of types of speaking.
3 Less anxiety.
4 Need to speak more.

(° = a low proficiency learner. Italics are used to show the sentences in the story)

M° *He believed that ... the good trade of nations depend on the existence of friendly relations between them.*
H Yes, and yours, please.
T° *He enjoyed the long voyages which gave*
H He enjoyed what? excuse me
T° *the long voyages which gave him the chance to make new friends who helped him to expand his business*
S So her sentence and mine and yours.
H He doesn't believe? (= asking S to say his sentence)
S *He doesn't believe in separating business*
H in separating business
S *from pleasure.*
So her sentence goes along with mine and yours as well.
H And yours is?
W Actually my sentence is the first or the last sentence.
A good knowledge of English was necessary for a man in his position.
This is like ... a conclusion.
H A conclusion, yeh. A conclusion.
S So we'll take this sentence.
H Is my sentence before yours?
He practised tennis and practised speaking English.
S Well why don't we pick out the first and the second ... first and then go down. Probably hers should be the first one.
W How about yours? Yours is also about this man and you have the name.
S Well I think my sentence should be as close as possible to her sentence.
W Oh, to her sentence. Maybe your sentence is the first one. It tells us how this man goes by sea. Yours is the purpose.

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UMSEP and the Deep End → Support → Performance Approach to Language Learning

KHONG CHOOI PENG

Introduction

This paper describes the University of Malaya Spoken English Project (UMSEP). There are four main sections in this paper. Section I briefly sets the background to the Project, describing the preliminary research involving areas such as learner-characteristics, target skills, collection and analysis of data. Section II discusses the principles underlying course design. In Section III, the focus shifts to one of the courses within UMSEP, i.e., the Preparatory Oral Skills for Management (POSM) to show how the principles outlined in Section II are incorporated in its design and organisation. This section details the structure of the materials whose units are designed to fit into the framework of a Deep End → Support → Performance Approach. The final section briefly deals with the implications for methodology and examines the roles of both the student and teacher. Finally, the consequences of such an approach for evaluation are discussed with some focus on the work done by UMSEP in testing.

Before going on to the paper proper I would like to state here that much of what will be discussed has been taken and summarised from documentation of ideas, working papers, research reports that have been written over the three and a half years that we have worked together as a team. Working on a project the size of UMSEP, involving a core team of eight full-time members and a back-up team of teachers and lecturers, and over such a long period of time, the ideas eventually adopted and developed were those that had stood the test of much discussion and debate, and the results of the Project, in their material state in the form of courses described here bear not the work of any individual but are the fruits of the team as a whole.

Background

The University of Malaya Spoken English Project (UMSEP) was launched in 1980 under the financial sponsorship of the Malaysian Ministry of Education as a joint effort between the University of Malaya and the British Council. The UMSEP Team comprised Language Specialists from the United Kingdom as well as from the University of Malaya's Language Centre. Other experts from the University of London, the University of Birmingham and the University of Lancaster served as consultants in the developmental stages. The primary aim of the UMSEP was to design and develop Spoken English Courses for final year University students and fresh graduates who will need to use the language in occupations in the fields of business, public administration and law. Within the Project three distinct courses have been developed under the following titles:

1. Preparatory Oral Skills for Management (POSM)
2. Oral Skills for Management (OSM)
3. Oral Skills for Law (OSL)

Preparatory Oral Skills for Management (POSM). This course which forms the main discussion in this paper, aims to provide undergraduates with the Spoken English Skills which are needed for beginning their careers in fields such as public administration, business and banking. It takes into account the fact that new graduates entering these professions will basically go through three phases, i.e., securing employment, attending pre-service training programmes, and conducting the daily business of a junior executive. POSM therefore focusses on developing the learner's ability to understand and use the kind of English needed in activities such as employment interviews, training programmes which use seminars, simulations, and formal presentation as well as initial on-the-job activities such as briefings and informal meetings.

Oral Skills for Management (OSM). This course focuses on the skills needed by junior executives who are already in their professions, and who need spoken English skills to communicate in English effectively in their jobs in national and international contexts in such fields as banking, business, trade and foreign relations. The types of

professional activities such executives are involved in include formal meetings, interviewing clients, participating in problem-solving sessions and negotiating agreements.

Oral Skills for Law (OSL). This course is developed primarily for the undergraduates in the Law Faculty who will be entering the legal profession, and who will need spoken English in order to interview and/or counsel clients, negotiate with fellow lawyers, examine or cross-examine witnesses, and take notes of proceedings. Target students also include junior members of the legal profession who are in need of improving their spoken skills.

These courses were intended to be taught within an academic session and therefore designed to be approximately 100 hours. The materials were piloted at various stages mainly in 1982 and the final version of each course was used in the previous academic session between July 1983 – January 1984 at the University of Malaya. We expect to see the published editions by July 1985.

Preliminary Research

The idea of a project such as UMSEP was first mooted because of a genuine need within the Malaysian occupational field. Employers in governmental and private sectors felt that they needed a corps of graduates who would be proficient enough in English to deal with the various responsibilities of their jobs. The UMSEP brief was to find ways to train undergraduates whose medium of instruction was not English to acquire the basic skills necessary to communicate effectively in their jobs.

Therefore we felt that in order to come up with right solutions to the problem we needed to understand and take account of the various elements within the situation. And in order to equip ourselves with this understanding, the UMSEP Team embarked on a programme of research.

In order to obtain the information we needed for decisions on the approach we should take and the shape of the courses, research was carried out in several areas. These areas are briefly outlined below.

The analysis of situational factors included the study of the language situation in the educational and occupational sheres, the teaching of English in the schools and the universities and student's

career expectations. It also involved investigating the needs not only of the target learners but those of the target professions as well. The latter was done through constructing profiles of communicative needs for English through interviewing executives in business and public administration.

The collection of data involved recording samples of English used in target professions. This provided useful information regarding the ways in which English is used in these professions and allowed some understanding of the skills we needed to focus upon.

Our research also covered *psycho-sociological investigations* into learner's interests and language use, cognitive styles, and other personality factors such as attitudes and motivation. This was done through questionnaire surveys and interviews with students.

We also observed various classroom *methods and techniques*, and analysed classroom interactions. We built a typology of *learning activities* and identified the distinguishing characteristics between them. We also explored media utilization to determine the role that media could play to enhance the effectiveness of the courses.

Apart from being concerned with how language could be taught and learnt, we also needed information on how *assessment of spoken language* might be carried out. Therefore we reviewed how others in the field have conducted spoken language tests in order that we could set up a viable testing programme of our own.

Each aspect of the research described above has been documented over the period of a year or so in which most of it was carried out (see bibliography attached). Decisions such as those regarding course design, methodology and materials were made based on knowledge gained from investigations into the areas described.

Course Design Principles

Before proceeding to discuss course design and organisation it is pertinent to describe the underlying principles which were taken into account. But first, a quick review of some elements within the situation in which we worked.

As was stated earlier, our brief was to design courses for three different target groups. Each of these courses was to be approximately a hundred hours. Among the positive elements we were able to capitalize upon was the fact that our students have had some ten

years of formal English language training, and had reached what might be described as an intermediate level of proficiency. They had also gone through a two year EAP course (The UMESPP [University of Malaya English for Special Purposes Project] course entitled *Study Skills: Reading for Academic Study*, University of Malaya Press, 1979, 1981) in their first and second year of undergraduate study. The UMESPP course basically concerned with developing reading skills, is interactive in approach and was designed to actively encourage oral communication in all the lessons. From the feedback and observation of these materials in use, and the research described in the previous sections, it was clear that students were motivated to learn to speak and that they particularly liked using language to do things.

Effective Learning

In order to maximise results that would get students to the target level, we felt that we needed to begin by considering not how teaching should be made more effective but how learning may be more effective. The UMSEP Team holds the belief that whilst learning occurs when something is taught explicitly, it also occurs incidentally, i.e., through exposure to language in use and without the learner being consciously aware of the process. It is our view that whilst it is important to provide some explicit teaching of formal features of language use, it is essential to provide opportunities which allow incidental learning, i.e., by focusing the learner's attention on how to use language to solve a problem or get his meaning across rather than on what particular language items to use.

Fluency and Accuracy

Like Brumfit (1979:188) we believe that an approach that begins with what the student can do and focuses on how what is known is used makes effective learning far more attainable. We are also of the opinion that an "accuracy-based" approach could be a "deficit curriculum" for the students and that developing the students' skills through a "fluency-approach" that does not ignore the development of accuracy would be a more effective way. As Brumfit points out the emphasis would thus be on use, not the possession of the target language.

The ultimate aim of UMSEP is the development of effective

performance. In our view effective performance does not come with the development of fluency to the exclusion of accuracy, nor with the development of knowledge of formal resources to the exclusion of communicative effectiveness. What we wanted was to strike the right balance; to develop communicative ability as well as develop formal resources necessary to improve the quality of performance. It therefore became an accepted principle that the courses should have two parallel strands: *support activities* that would build up formal resources, and *interactive activities* that generate appropriate language use and provide opportunities for students to draw on the formal resources of the support activities. These two parallel strands will be discussed in greater detail in the section on Preparatory Oral Skills in Management.

Opportunities for Communicative Language Use

It was felt that students needed to be presented with opportunities for language use, that such opportunities should consist of communicative tasks that reflect the types of interactions that occur in target professions. In order for meaningful communication to occur, such communicative tasks should be those in which there is real information-gap between the participants. Furthermore, in order to provide opportunities for the language in focus to be generated, the students' roles in these activities must be specified, and both the activities and roles must be varied in order to allow a wide range of language use.

Opportunities to Review Language Used

It is held that opportunities for use described above must be complemented by opportunities for the students to assess or reflect on the language that they have used or might use. It is considered insufficient merely to provide opportunities for talk; students must be trained to monitor their own language as well as the language used by their peers.

Learning from the Performance of Others

It is also held that learning occurs when students are exposed to the performance of others. In this respect, it was decided that opportunities for listening to samples of natural speech were necessary to train the students to interpret the way speakers use language, and also to expose them to features of language in use.

Selective Correction of Errors

In providing opportunities for the communicative use of language it is recognized that the language generated will be unpredictable and that errors will be made in performance. It is also recognized that many of the errors will be undetected and uncorrected but it is felt that effective learning cannot take place without these opportunities for performance. However, it is important to stress here that it does not mean that we ignore grammatical errors. We believe that selective correction of errors is needed, i.e., the type of correction required should depend on the aims of the activity. In other words, the teacher will deal with errors which interfere with the achievement of the aims of a task. This means that in interactive activities, errors that interfere with the successful completion of the task will be corrected. Elsewhere where the concern is with developing a range of formal resources for use, the errors will be mainly errors of accuracy.

Because we believe that learner error is a necessary part of the learning process, we have not set out to prevent errors but to encourage students to learn from them. Students' abilities to monitor their own performance should be developed, they should become aware of their own limitations and use this knowledge to improve future performance.

Student Responsibility for Learning

It is the UMSEP view that the student should be made keenly aware that he should take prime responsibility for his learning. He should also be trained to learn from the performance of others, the teachers, his peers as well as from various inputs in the materials. We feel that students learn more effectively when they understand what they are using, perceive the relevance of what they learn and are shown what they have learnt through regular feedback.

Flexibility in Course Implementation

Another important consideration that we took into account was that a certain flexibility in course duration and implementation was desirable. In view of the fact that our target students could be drawn from undergraduates as well those who are already in the professions, we felt that we needed courses that could be run intensively over a short period or extensively throughout an academic year. we

also needed to cater to students of different entry levels and therefore the courses had to be designed so that various combinations of units or blocks or stages may be created to cater to different groups.

The Syllabus

As was pointed out earlier, the ultimate aim of UMSEP is to develop effective performance and that it was felt that this could be done through expanding the student's available resources for use. In view of this aim, it was felt that the syllabus for each of the three courses could not be organised into grammatical categories. Furthermore, since the UMSEP, POSM, and OSM courses are not courses in management, nor OSL a course in law, the syllabus could not be organised into notional or subject-specific categories.

It seemed appropriate then that the syllabus categories should be specified in terms of functions and interactions. By "interactions" is meant a speech event involving a minimum of two participants, described in terms of the roles of the participants and the outcome to be achieved of the three UMSEP courses, POSM bases its syllabus categories on interactions (see diagram in the next section of this paper) whereas OSM and OSL adopt a functional framework (see Appendices 1 and 2).

We have thus far briefly reviewed the principles underlying the UMSEP course design and outlined the main reasons supporting the adoption of these principles. The next section in the paper will shift attention onto one of the three courses, i.e., POSM to examine in detail how these principles have been incorporated.

Preparatory Oral Skills in Management (POSM)

Aims and Target Students

As has been described earlier, the POSM course was developed to help student acquire the spoken English skills necessary for entry into professional fields of public administration, business and commerce.

POSM's target student (as is described in its *Course Manual*), will be one of the following:

— a final-year undergraduate typically from a faculty which supplies graduates to the professional fields mentioned above (especially Arts or Economics);

— a graduate who is intending to enter one of these fields and who may be undertaking pre-service training;
— a junior executive who is in need of substantial language improvement in order to use spoken English effectively for his work.

POSM is designed as an extensive course covering one academic year with a total of approximately a hundred hours. It can also be given as an intensive course lasting 20–25 days.

Types of Material

The course consists of a Student's Book, a Course Manual (teacher's guide) and audio tapes (one for each unit) for use in the classroom.

The Syllabus

The POSM syllabus consists of an introductory unit and twenty Units organised into six stages:

Introduction Unit 1	
Stage 1 Information sharing — an overview	Units 2 and 3
Stage 2 Establishing information	Units 4–6
Stage 3 Interacting for different purposes	Units 7–10
Stage 4 Putting forward and evaluating positions	Units 11–14
Stage 5 Reaching Decisions	Units 15–18
Stage 6 Interaction Assignments	Units 19–20

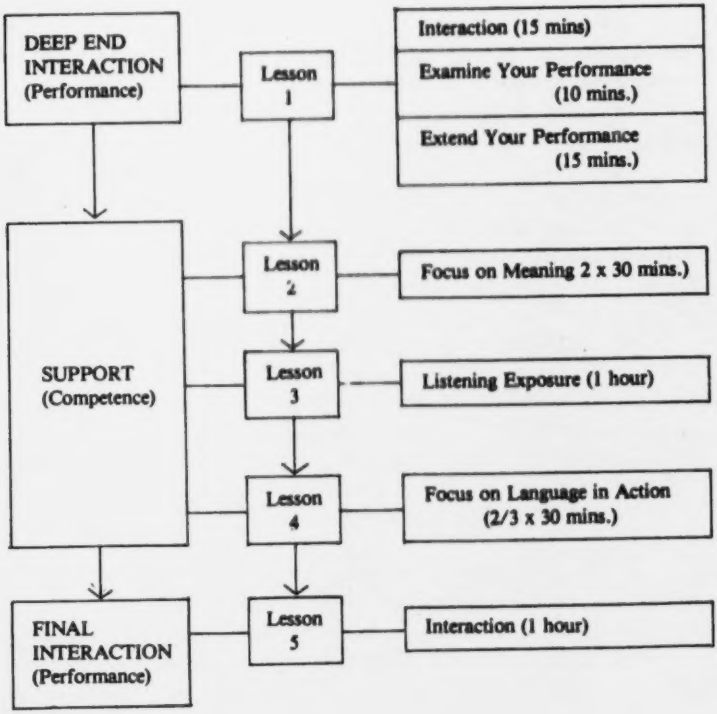
An outline specification of the syllabus content is given in Appendix 3.

As can be seen from the syllabus specification, each Unit in POSM focuses on particular ways in which people interact. What

POSM aims to teach are skills or the ability to operate in communicative settings, but as the description of the Unit structure will indicate, POSM also tries to provide support for performance by focussing on linguistic resources which the student can make use of in the interactions.

Unit Structure: Deep end → Support → Performance

In line with the principles adopted for UMSEP as a whole, the Units in POSM are made of *interactive activities* and *support activities*. Each Unit consisting of five hours has the following structure:



Before going on to discuss the Deep end – Support – Performance approach, it is pertinent to describe the interactive and support activities which are central to the issue.

Interactive Activities

An interactive activity as is defined earlier, is one that involves a minimum of two participants working towards an outcome. In the UMSEP materials interactive activities are task-oriented, i.e., the learner is required to use language in order to search a specified outcome or goal. The main aim of the interactive activities is to generate language appropriate to the task, i.e., they provide opportunities for performance.

As can be seen from the outline Syllabus Specification (Appendix 3), each Unit focuses on language use (e.g., Getting the facts, Investigating, Reaching agreement).

In designing interactive activities, control is achieved through three basic parameters, i.e.,

(a) Providing a clear task to perform. For example, students are given a problem to solve involving a decision to be reached or some information which the students record in the form of notes in order to provide a clear finishing point to the activity. Or, they may be given an open-ended activity in which they do as much as possible within a specified time limit;

(b) Providing rules on how to perform the task. Steps and procedures are given in order to ensure that the right kind of task emerges. In addition, the student's role within the activity is specified in order to ensure a sharing of responsibility for the task in hand;

(c) Providing an information input. Short texts and diagrams are often provided as start off points for discussion.

The POSM materials attempt to ensure talk in three main ways:

(a) by using tasks set in realistic situations which are relevant to the professional contexts but not unfamiliar to university students e.g., agreeing on actions to be taken at committee meetings.

(b) by ensuring that students are never given unnatural complicated roles (e.g., an irrate personnel manager), or required to use specialized language. In most cases the activities allow the students to behave *as themselves* in hypothetical, simulated settings.

(c) by creating information gaps between students. Apart from

using an "opinion gap" between students by telling them to take different positions on an issue, or on "information gap" in which different information is given to each student, POSM also allows the students to create this 'gap' themselves. This is done by getting the students to select information independently (see Appendices 4 and 5). This device not only helps to generate talk but, more importantly, it allows the student to personally "invent" or contribute information for the task and therefore ensuring that the talk is unpredictable.

There are two types of interactive activities in POSM, the *Preliminary Interaction (Deep-end)* and the *Final Interaction (Performance)*. Each of these are similar in some ways but different in others.

The Preliminary (Deep-end) Activity

The Preliminary (Deep-end) Activity is the first activity of a POSM Unit. It serves as an introduction to the Unit providing students with an overview of the areas of language use and the types of formal features that are dealt with in subsequent lessons. As was shown in the diagram in the section on Unit Structure of this paper, it is a fifteen minute activity.

It is a deep-end activity because it "throws" the student into a situation in which he has to call into use what language resources he has in order to complete a task. He is "left to fend for himself" and to do the best he can to complete his task.

In his attempt to communicate his meaning, the student may be groping for words and paraphrasing his thoughts but as Brumfit (quoted earlier) points out he will be learning the strategies for communication which all language users possess in their mother tongue, and which all need to develop in the language they are attempting to master. Moreover, stretching his linguistic capabilities to complete a task, the student and his teacher are made aware of where he requires help the most.

This self-realization of the kinds of help that the student needs is a vital element in the process. It is an underlying principle of the UMSEP courses (as was described earlier) that the student should take prime responsibility for his own learning and to monitor his own progress. To this end, POSM provides opportunities for the student to do so through two other activities that accompany each deep-end activity in Course. These two accompanying activities are:

(a) *Examine Your Performance* activities in which the student is asked to reflect back on the language he used and the difficulties he encountered in carrying out the tasks. These activities also require the student to evaluate his performance in terms of whether he was able to achieve the objectives. They also present certain key expressions which are central to the task to find out if the student used them in the interaction.

(b) *Extend Your Performance* activities are designed to get the student to think what further language he would need to complete the "deep-end" task. In this sense, these activities function as a lead-in to the support activities which will be described below.

The *Extend Your Performance* activities have tasks which focus on formal and semantic features in various utterances given in short exchanges. The aim of such tasks is to show that utterances do not exist in isolation but depend on what has already been said. Another task within these activities allows students to focus on a mini situation which requires them to think of various ways of expressing information by taking into account what they know about other speakers.

The Final (Performance) Activity

The Final (Performance) Activity forms Lesson Five of each POSM Unit. It is wider in scope than the Preliminary "Deep-end" Activity in that it provides opportunities for the students to make use of what they have learnt in the whole Unit to perform new tasks. Such final activities differ from the Preliminary (Deep-end) Activity in that they contain larger "events", i.e., they are more complex, they require the students to deal with more inputs (written or spoken), and they often contain stages each with specific requirements.

For example, the Final (Performance) Activity given in Appendix 5, each of the four students in group will:

(a) supply the information needed by "inventing" it;
(b) present the information to his group members with the help of the visual input that he is required to use (a pie-chart or graph);
(c) listen to the information presented by others and to take down notes using a table provided;
(d) compare the information he has obtained and draw conclusions;
(e) present his conclusions to his group;
(f) decide, through discussion with his group, on a specific policy;

The Final (Performance) Activity "puts back together" or "or-

chestrates" the types of functions and skills focused on in the Support Activities. It provides a round-up to the Unit as a whole.

The Support Activities

The "Support" portion of a POSM Unit comes in the middle, i.e., between Lessons One and Five. These three lessons attempt to build upon what the students already know and have demonstrated in the Preliminary (Deep-end) Activity. They are designed to extend the linguistic resources which are needed for the interactions within the Unit. It is not suggested, however, that the students are required to make a deliberate effort to use these resources in the Final (Performance) Activity, nor it is claimed that all the language needed is given coverage here. A criterion for selection of the skills for these support lessons is that these should be key-skills in relation to the interactions. It is believed that exposing students to a wider range of resources in this manner would have an incremental effect upon their performance.

The support component, as shown in the diagram on the Unit Structure of POSM consist of two lessons, (Two and Four) which focus on language and one lesson devoted to developing listening skills.

Focus Activities

Focus activities in POSM are of two types: focus on meaning, and focus on language in action.

An example of an activity that focuses on meaning is given in Appendix 6. As can be seen the activity is designed to:

(i) illustrate the importance of using language accurately (see Task 1 of Appendix 6);

(ii) get students to recognize the various ways of expressing the same meaning (see Task 1);

(iii) allow students to use the language focused upon in a mini-task (see Task 2);

Listening Exposure

Each POSM Unit has a listening exposure lesson consisting of an audio cassette and activities based upon it.

As was stated earlier in this paper, it is believed that improvement in performance can be achieved through exposure to the per-

formance of others. Furthermore, it is regarded as important that the students be trained to understand speech used in interactions relevant to his professional interests.

The audio input to each Unit contains spontaneous speech of professionals engaged in activities designed to generate the use of the skills in focus. We have not confined our recordings to persons with a particular accent nor are they all native speakers of English as our intention is not that the students should imitate them as models. Our criteria have been that their level of English must be of a high internationally acceptable standard and that their accent be not an obstacle to easy comprehension. We also believe that within the local context of South-East Asia, an ability to comprehend speakers of different backgrounds is a desirable objective.

In our exposure lessons students listen to complete recordings or extracts from it and perform tasks which require them to listen for main points, specific information and language use.

Conclusion

This paper has reported how one particular institution, i.e., the Language Centre, University of Malaya is attempting to help train a corps of undergraduates for professions requiring a communicative ability in English in the public and private sector. The discussion has centred on the way the University of Malaya Spoken English Project (UMSEP) has interpreted its brief and defined the terms within which the Project should operate. Particular attention was paid to the Preparatory Oral Skills for Management Course and the Deep-end – Support – Performance framework within which its materials are structured.

As was mentioned earlier, the UMSEP Courses have been in use for one academic year. As Dr. Carmel Heah points out in her paper on identifying and solving skill-related difficulties encountered in teaching the UMSEP Courses, the process of course design seems invariably to stop at production of teaching materials. Very little, if anything at all, is done regarding the attendent issues that emerge. One crucial issue is the training of the teacher who has a vital role in ensuring the success of any course. As Dr. Heah states, new materials mean that the teacher who uses them needs to know and understand the skills required to handle the materials with confidence as well as to have the right attitude towards the materials.

The teacher training package that UMSEP is currently developing to complement the UMSEP Courses has been comprehensively dealt with by Dr. Heah.

One other attendent issue should not be overlooked, i.e., the problem of testing. A considerable imbalance exists, as Morrow (1979) points out, between the resources available to the teacher in the form of teaching materials, and those available in terms of testing and evaluating instruments. Having adopted an interactive approach in its courses, UMSEP has had to consider in serious terms what might constitute a viable testing performance. As our courses reflect a concern for developing both competence and performance, we needed a testing programme that would reflect both these concerns. Work in this area in UMSEP has developed along a two-prongged approach: the *discrete-feature approach* and the *interactive approach*. The details regarding this work form the subject of the workshop entitled "But How Do We Assess Communicative Competence and Performance?" this afternoon. I would like to withhold discussion on this topic until then.

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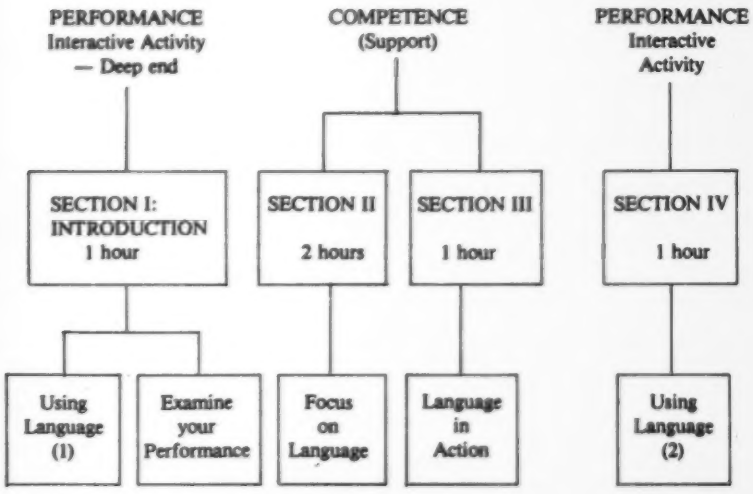
APPENDIX 1

ORAL SKILLS FOR MANAGEMENT (OSM)

OSM consists of 20 Units which are organized into four modules:

Module 1:	Discrete Functions Interaction Assignment/Review THE INTERVIEW	Units 1–4 Unit 5
Module 2:	Discrete Functions Interaction Assignment/Review THE FORMAL MEETING	Units 6–9 Unit 10
Module 3:	Discrete Functions Interaction Assignment/Review THE PROBLEM-SOLVING SESSION	Units 11–14 Unit 15
Module 4:	Discrete Functions Interaction Assignment/Review THE NEGOTIATION	Units 16–19 Unit 20

The Units (with the exception of Units 19, 20 and 21 which are review Units) are structured as follows:



Module 1

Unit 1: Asking effective questions
Unit 2: Asking for clarification
Unit 3: Giving appropriate replies
Unit 4: Making appropriate requests
Unit 5: THE INTERVIEW

Module 2

Unit 6: Presenting information effectively (1)
Unit 7: Presenting information effectively (2)
Unit 8: Giving appropriate reactions
Unit 9: Getting agreement for proposals
Unit 10: THE FORMAL MEETING

Module 3

Unit 11: Stating your position
Unit 12: Analysing past events
Unit 13: Proposing solutions
Unit 14: Comparing and contrasting proposals
Unit 15: THE PROBLEM-SOLVING SESSION

Module 4

Unit 16: Examining feasibility
Unit 17: Stating terms and conditions
Unit 18: Influencing decisions
Unit 19: Reporting and Summarizing
Unit 20: THE NEGOTIATION

APPENDIX 2

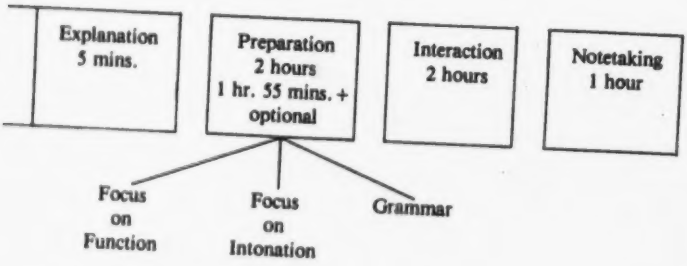
ORAL SKILLS FOR LAW (OSL)

The syllabus consists of twenty-one units divided into three stages as follows:

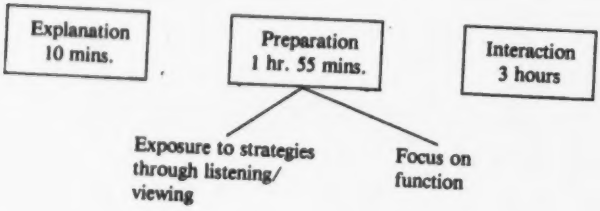
Stage 1	Establishing information	Units 1–10
Stage 2	Using information to develop an argument	Units 11–16
Stage 3	Arguing in professional encounter	Units 17–21

Each of the three stages has a different Unit Structure:

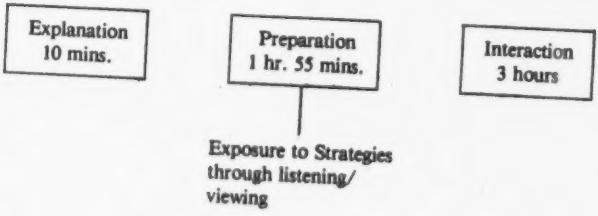
A. *Structure of a Stage 1 Unit*



B. *Structure of a Stage 2 Unit*



C. *Structure of a Stage 3 Unit*



Stage 1 Units 1–10 *Establishing information*

The lawyer establishes information in the court and in his office by asking questions. All ten units in this stage are mainly (but not exclusively) concerned with asking questions.

Unit 1 Establishing basic information
Unit 2 Eliciting precise information
Unit 3 Establishing degrees of certainty
Unit 4 Eliciting relevant information
Unit 5 Sequencing information
Unit 6 Developing a topic
Unit 7 Introducing a new topic
Unit 8 Making assumptions
Unit 9 Asking leading questions
Unit 10 Correcting unsatisfactory replies

Stage 2 Units 11–16 *Using information to develop an argument*

The lawyer uses information in order to support one side of an argument against the other.

Unit 11 Expressing opinions
Unit 12 Summarizing
Unit 13 Explaining alternatives
Unit 14 Supporting and attacking an interpretation
Unit 15 Making and demanding concessions
Unit 16 Making evasions

Stage 3 Units 17–21 *Arguing in professional encounters*

The lawyer uses argument in a limited range or professional encounters:

Unit 17 Interviewing a client
Unit 18 Negotiating with another lawyer
Unit 19 Counselling a client
Unit 20 Examining a witness
Unit 21 Cross-examining a witness

APPENDIX 3

PREPARATORY ORAL SKILLS FOR MANAGEMENT: OUTLINE SYLLABUS SPECIFICATION

Unit	Title	Description	Stage
0	Introduction	Introduces students to activity types.	
1	Getting the facts	Seeking and giving basic information in order to make written notes.	I. INFORMATION SHARING:
2	Presenting the facts	Conveying and seeking basic information given in non-linear inputs.	AN OVERVIEW
3	Checking the facts	Checking and extending information	
4	Investigating	Speculating and querying information	II. ESTABLISHING INFORMATION
5	Evaluating information	Confirming, denying, correcting and modifying information given.	
6	Finding out about procedures	Sharing information in order to establish procedures to be followed.	III. INTERACTING
7	Deciding	Seeking and giving information in order to take a decision.	FOR
8	Getting things done	Transmitting orders and requests for action.	DIFFERENT
9	Reporting	Reporting and summarizing spoken interactions.	PURPOSES

Unit	Title	Description	Stage
10	Expressing	Putting forward and justifying ideas and opinions; agreeing and disagreeing.	IV. PUTTING FORWARD AND EVALUATING POSITIONS
11	Recommending	Making suggestions and recommending; assessing recommendations in order to take a decision.	
12	Persuading	Supporting recommendations and reacting to persuasion.	
13	Comparing and deciding	Comparing and deciding on the basis of differerent proposals.	
14	Planning for decisions	Establishing the basic information and positions on which decisions will be made.	V. REACHING DECISIONS
15	Defending and attacking	Supporting your argument and challenging other people's arguments.	
16	Reaching agreement	Modifying positions in order to reach a consensus.	
17	Analyzing decisions	Evaluating decisions and their consequences.	
18	Problem-solving	Stages in analyzing a problem situation and agreeing on solutions.	VI. INTERACTION ASSIGNMENTS
19	Using case studies	Stages in analyzing and drawing conclusions from cases.	
20	Negotiating	Stages in reaching agreement through negotiation.	

APPENDIX 4

Example of a Preliminary (Deep-end) Activity
POSM UNIT 3 : PRESENTING THE FACTS

(This is a paired activity, Students complete, then present the information to each other).

WORKSHEET 1 Student A only

In a survey of *career preferences*, students listed the following:

Public Administration : _____

Teaching : _____

Business : _____

Advertising : _____

Journalism : _____

Use your imagination to decide what percentage of students preferred each career. Write one of the following percentages next to each career.

5% 15% 30% 45%

WORKSHEET 2 Student B only

In a survey of *graduate employment* it was found that graduates entered the following fields:

Public Administration : _____

Teaching : _____

Business : _____

Advertising : _____

Journalism : _____

Use your imagination to decide what percentage of graduates entered each field. Write one of the following percentages next to each career.

5% 15% 30% 45%

APPENDIX 5

Example of a Final (Performance) Activity
POSM UNIT 3 : PRESENTING THE FACTS

(This is a group activity involving 4 students. Only 2 students' worksheets are given in this appendix)

Instructions:

You will take part in a meeting to decide on a policy on graduate employment. You need to decide whether the number of graduates from particular faculties should be increased or decreased. In order to do this you must compare the number of graduates required in the public and private sectors. There are two universities in the country and you are interested in the figures for this year and in three years' time.

Then your group will draw conclusions from the information given and decide on a policy, i.e., for each faculty decide whether to increase or decrease the number of graduates.

WORKSHEET 3 Student A only

1. State University : students graduating

Faculty	This year	In three years' time
Engineering		
Sciences		
Law		
Social Sciences		
Total	300	350

This year ◯ In three years' time ◯

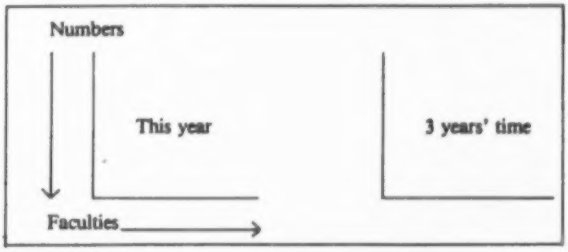
2. Social Sciences

	No. graduating	No. required
Total		

WORKSHEET 4 Student B only

1. Private University : students graduating

Faculty	This year	In three years' time
Economics		
Engineering		
Sciences		
Law		
Social Sciences		
Total	110	150



2. Science and Engineering

	No. graduating	No. required
Total		

APPENDIX 6

Example of a SUPPORT Activity
POSM UNIT 7 : FINDING OUT ABOUT PROCEDURES

Focus on meaning : finding out what is necessary

It is very important to understand what you are allowed or obliged to do. In this activity you will practise ways of expressing things that you are allowed to do or obliged to do.

TASK 1

1. Look at the information and exchange given below. Miss B is not very helpful. What should she say?

> No personal cheques. We accept travellers cheques or credit cards.

A → Can I pay by cheque or do I have to pay cash?

You can't pay by cheque. ← B

2. Study the exchange below and answer the questions after it.

> Speaker A: Do I have to leave a deposit?
> Speaker B: No, that's not necessary.
> Speaker A: I see.

(a) Which of the following mean the same as Speaker A's question?
- (i) Do I need to leave a deposit?
- (ii) Can I leave a deposit?
- (iii) Is it necessary for me to leave a deposit?
- (iv) Is it possible to leave a deposit?

(b) Which of the following mean the same as Speaker B's reply?
- (i) No, you cannot.
- (ii) No, you must not.
- (iii) No, you needn't.
- (iv) No, you don't have to..

Here are some ways of expressing what you are allowed or obliged to do.

Asking whether you are obliged to do something.	Is it necessary (for me) to ...? Do I have to ...? Need I ...?
Asking whether something is allowed.	Is it possible to ...? Can I ...?
Saying that something is not necessary.	It's not necessary to ... You don't have to ... You needn't ...

TASK 2

1. *Student A* Prepare how to ask if the things in List A below are possible or necessary in order to study in a foreign university.
   Student B Prepare how to ask if the things in List B below are possible or necessary in order to get a car loan.
   Use the expressions that you learnt earlier in the unit.

List A Study in a foreign university.

	Start this year.
	Live on campus.
Possible?	Choose any subjects.
	Get a scholarship.
	Pass an English test.
Necessary?	Pay fees in advance.
	Be resident in the university.
	Pass all subjects.

List B Applying for a car loan.

	Get in today.
	Cover the full amount.
Possible?	Repay in five years.
	Change the period of repayment.
	Give references.
	Pay interest.
Necessary?	Get parents' permission.
	Make a payment every month.

2. *Student A* Look at the information on car loans. Tick those items you consider necessary or possible.
   Student B Look at the information on studying in a foreign university. Tick those items you consider necessary or possible.
3. *Student A* Ask Student B about studying in a foreign university.
   Student B Reply using your answers to 2 above.
   Student B Ask Student A about a car loan.
   Student A Reply using your answers to 2 above.

The Communicative Approach: Questions Arising from Materials Writing in a TEFL Situation

P.W.J. NABABAN

Introduction

The term "communicative" in such phrases as communicative competence (e.g., Hymes 1972), communicative syllabus (e.g., Munby 1978), and communicative approach (e.g., Widdowson 1978, Brumfit & Johnson 1979) has been with us for more than ten years. Other similar terms in language teaching referring to the communicational nature of language are: the communicational syllabus (e.g., Pusat Perkembangan Kurikulum, Malaysia, 1975), the semantic syllabus (e.g., Johnson 1982), the notional syllabus (e.g., Wilkins 1976), the "functional syllabus" and "functional-notional approach" (e.g., Finochiaro 1979), etc.

The interest in the communicative aspect of language seemed to be largely triggered by the extreme abstractness of Chomsky's view of language and his provocative dichotomy of competence versus performance (1975:4). This intellectual development has been sufficiently traced by Munby in his *Communicative Syllabus* (1978: 6–27). This development was mainly stimulated by the increasing interest and work in sociolinguistics which re-emphasized the social nature of language and the dependence of its form, meaning and purpose on the sociolinguistic context. This context includes setting, participants, purpose, etc. (cf. Hymes' acronym SPEAKING [Gumperz and Hymes 1972:65]). Another main reason was of course the frustrating results of the structural Audiolingual Method which produced fluent speakers of a second/foreign language who were not able to use the language in meaningful interaction.

No purpose would be served at present to further denounce the audiolingual method, its mechanical drills and its failure to utilize the learner's background knowledge and abilities (see my 1970 article). At present, the communicative approach has become sufficiently widespread that it has almost become a kind of fashion or band-

wagon. However, there are still many problems and uncertainties related to "writing communicative materials" and developing communicative classroom procedures.

Writing Communicative Materials

The most detailed syllabus in the communicative approach that has come to my attention is the Council of Europe's *Threshold Level* (van Ek 1975). This syllabus is a full description of the language proficiency objectives of the Council of Europe's adult language learning programmes that will enable them to facilitate the movement of men and ideas in the West European area. I have elsewhere (1983) described our attempt at modifying this model for the purpose of our textbook writing project. The main problem remaining is how to implement this (modified) syllabus into teaching materials or textbooks.

After the adoption of a new curriculum in 1975, the Department of Education and Culture in Indonesia embarked on a program to revise or rewrite the existing textbooks in accordance with the new curriculum. For the purpose of a better coordination of the program, the Department set up the Integrated Textbook Project (ITP) in 1980. One of the set of textbooks to be rewritten was that of English for the SMP (*Sekolah Menengah Pertama* = Junior High School) and for the SMA (*Sekolah Menengah Atas* = Senior High School).

The writers of the ITP English textbooks desired to produce more meaningful and communicative materials than those in the previous textbooks. However, the 1975 syllabus on which they had to base their materials was completely structural; even the summary vocabulary section was much more morphologically than lexically oriented. In this effort of writing communicative materials to a structural syllabus, we were faced by two sets of questions or problems: one theoretical in nature and the other practical. The theoretical questions included:

(1) What should be the communicative objectives of the materials in an EFL situation like Indonesia, where reading competence is the main FL curricular objective?

(2) given a (suitably modified) syllabus, how does one select and grade materials in the communicative approach?

(3) how does one present communicative materials?

(4) how does one evaluate communicative competence?

In the structural approach with its discrete structural items/ forms, these questions can be answered straightforwardly. *We* have found these questions very difficult to answer. Possible answers to questions *b*, *c* and *d* above have been attempted by studying proposals made by such scholars as Widdowson (1978, 1979), Munby (1978), van Ek (1975), Finocchiaro (1983), Rivers (1983), Brumfit (1979) and Johnson (1982) on selection, grading and presentation of materials; and Finocchiaro (1983) and Carroll (1980) on evaluation. We have had also several textbooks with a communicative orientation as comparative material; for example *Functions in English* (Jones 1977), *Notions in English* (Jones 1977), *In Touch* (Castro & Kimbrough 1980), *Interaction* (O'Neill 1976), *Developing Communicative Competence* (Paulston *et al.* 1975).

However, all our considerations have been strongly influenced by the following practical constraints or considerations. Teaching-learning materials are written for certain students, within a certain school curriculum, to be used by certain teachers, and all of these within the context of available facilities and equipment. Our students have a heterogeneous linguistic background but have *Bahasa Indonesia* in common, which they learn as a school subject and acquire as a second language by virtue of its being the official language in the society and the medium of instruction in the educational system. For all our students, *Bahasa Indonesia* is the language of learning science and technology and of official business; in short, it is the language of intellectualism. This fact induced us to write materials that are based on the *Bahasa Indonesia* abilities of the student, in particular in using *Bahasa Indonesia* to explain meanings of words and sentences and to describe language situations (cf. Widdowson, 1978:18, suggesting the use of the students' native language as "translations at the level of use").

The school curriculum determines the place and time allotment for English, i.e., it is a compulsory subject and allowed only three or four periods of forty-five minutes per week. The main objectives as mentioned above is a reading ability of at least 1000 words at the end of the SMP and 4000 words at the end of SMA. This objective of reading ability is very vaguely defined (cf. my 1976 proposed definition) and more will be said on this below.

The third practical constraint is the teachers who have certain abilities, knowledge, and educational background, which have

shaped their theoretical orientation, propensities and their professional experience. The English language teachers in Indonesia have all been educated in the structural-behaviouristic audio-lingual method of TEFL. They have been 'indoctrinated' in the drill method of teaching English that they might feel disoriented if they had to use a communicative textbook like *In Touch*. In the first place they may not know much of the language used there and may not be able to handle the types of exercises in the book. This consideration made us design the book in such a way that the teachers will find some familiar materials and exercises but with the fundamental difference that everything is made meaningful through glossing of forms and explanations of structures and situations in *Bahasa Indonesia*.

The books will be issued with a separate teacher's guide that explains the thinking and philosophy behind the materials. One section of the teacher's guide gives an overview of TEFL methodology with a number of alternative exercises for each materials component which the teacher can draw on to provide more variety to the exercises already given in the textbooks. Another section consists of answers to the exercises. This we have done considering the level of proficiency of the teachers that may have been adequate on graduation from Teachers College, but that, as can be expected in their non-English-using sociolinguistic situation, will have declined considerably with the passing of time.

An additional complication of the job of writing English language materials was created by the recent decision of the Department of Education to revise the curriculum beginning with the 1984–85 school year (Ministerial Decree No. 0461/U/1983, dated 22–10–1983). The revision decree itself had been anticipated, because the evaluation of the implementation of the 1975 curriculum had strongly indicated the need for a revision. So the ITP English language textbooks already incorporate the aspects that were intended for a revised syllabus like the switching of the focus from structures to language use, and the use of reading passages as communicative discourse rather than as reinforcement of previously learnt structures and vocabulary. Dialogues are used to exemplify language functions rather than the introduction or reinforcement of structures.

However, the timing of the decision came rather as a surprise and the short time available for the formulation of a new syllabus for

the core curriculum (i.e., SMA Form I) may have led to some formulations that will need to be revised later. Fortunately, the Department implementational directives stipulated that the new syllabus would still contain the essential materials of the 1975 curriculum although they may have to be reorganized, and that there would be no immediate need for a revamping of textbooks. Consequently, the lines of action taken by ITP in writing a new set of English textbooks can still be considered acceptable as they are in accordance with the principles stipulated in Article 4 of the decree, in particular items *c* (flexibility), *f* (efficiency of the learning process) and *h* (utilization of the results of research and development).

Communicative Materials for Reading Objectives

The communicative syllabus developed by the Council of Europe has as objective "a level of oral communicative ability", as the target group is assumed not to need "a general ability to read and to write the foreign language" (van Ek 1975:17). This oral communication objective is also true for all the course books mentioned above. Even though most of them contain some reading components, the focus is on oral ability and therefore dialogues form by far the largest part of the books. The same is true also for more recent communicative course books like *English Alfa* (Houghton Mifflin 1981), *World English* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich International 1982) and *Spectrum* (Regents Publishing Co. Inc. 1982).

In Indonesia, the main objective of TEFL is *reading ability* for the purposes of further study and of science and technology (cf. Nababan 1983). The level of emphasis on reading ability has never been operationally defined (see, however, Nababan 1976). The 1967 Ministerial Decree No. 096/1967 concerning the functions and objectives of English language teaching in secondary schools only states that the objectives of English language teaching are:

1. effective reading ability;
2. ability to understand spoken English;
3. writing ability;
4. speaking ability.

The primary emphasis on reading ability is expressed only by the order of the listing, the considerations stated and the reference made to the results of the meeting between the Department's Centre for Research and Development in Education and the Coordinating

Board of English Language Teaching in November 1967.

The most recent attempt at operationalizing the level of emphasis is the suggestion for a needs analysis made by the 1983 seminar on ELT Methodology for SMP-SMA. The seminar also proposed a possible objectives profile for SMP and SMA that might result from such a needs analysis. The objectives profile conjectured for the usual 4 (four) language skills is as follows (Laporan:72):

	SMP	SMA
Reading	50%	50%
Listening	20%	10%
Speaking	20%	20%
Writing	10%	20%
	100%	100%

This objective profile is skill-based and appears to be (in Widdowson's terminology) *usage* oriented. A more adequate profile should have another dimension, namely that of *use*, in order to include the communicative aspects of these skills. How this might be formulated is not too clear at present, but it seems that it would contain some kind of specification of the communicative or language functions for which these skills are to be used. These language functions should be specified on the basis of an analysis of the societal needs for English as a foreign language in the country. Nevertheless, an objectives profile like the one presented above is helpful in the writing of materials, because it can guide the textbook writer to determine how much space and material he should allot to the attainment of each of the skills.

Another way of defining the degree of emphasis on the various skills objectives is by allotting the desired proportion of teaching-learning time to the appropriate skills. The objectives profile above could perhaps be interpreted in this way. Then it would mean that 50 per cent of classroom time (and perhaps also of home-work time) should be devoted to the attainment of reading skill, i.e., reading, discussion and doing pertinent exercises.

In the syllabus for the "core curriculum" of Form I SMA, this emphasis on reading is expressed in the form of class time allotment. In this core curriculum that will take effect in July 1984, English is allowed 3 periods (of 45 minutes) a week in each semester. This

means 16 x 3 = 48 periods of effective classroom teaching-learning time. Of these 48 periods, 16 periods will be given to structure, 28 periods to reading and vocabulary building, and 4 periods to dialogues (as the productive expression of notion/meaning and the carrying out of functions). This formulation may look unsystematic, because "structure" is an element of the language system and so is vocabulary, whereas Reading and Dialogue are language acts. However, the accompanying explanations have made it clear that they are used for teaching-learning procedures and content, and that the language elements of structures and vocabulary should be oriented towards the improvement of reading skill or the language act of comprehension reading.

The Communicative Approach in the Teaching of Reading

This now brings us back to the main problem addressed by this paper. If reading ability is the main objective of ELT in Indonesia and one wants to apply the communicative approach in it, then one is faced with the question of "how to teach foreign language reading in the communicative approach". None of the course books mentioned above offers much help, because they are all oriented toward oral communicative ability. There are many articles on the teaching of reading comprehension, but there are not too many articles that I have seen that are quite relevant to the teaching of reading as a foreign language.

This question arose (among many other questions) during the design stage of the ITP English language textbooks. At this stage we asked ourselves several basic questions. Given that reading ability was the dominant objective of TEFL in Indonesia, we asked amongst others the following methodological questions:

(1) How shall we organize the textbook materials;
  (i) how many units per book?
  (ii) what sections or components in each unit?
  (iii) how much space/time for each component?
(2) What are the specific instructional objectives of each component?
(3) Will the aggregate of the component instructional objectives meet the Indonesian TEFL objective?
(4) What form should the component materials take in order to meet their specific instructional objective?

We did give pragmatic answers to these questions to make it possible for us to proceed to the writing of the textbook. However, these questions have kept worrying my mind, and this has led me to write this paper, i.e., put my thoughts on paper. In a way, one can consider this paper as passing on the questions to the participants of the seminar.

The above question ("How to teach foreign language reading in the communicative approach") can be divided into 4 (four) subquestions:

(1) Is reading a communicative act?
(2) What should one be teaching in the teaching of FL reading?
(3) How should one select and write the reading passages?
(4) What procedures can one follow in teaching FL reading?

We will discuss these questions one by one below.

Is reading a communicative act? It seems clear that we all agree that it is. In all reading, some information is transferred from a transmitter (i.e., the writer) to a receiver (i.e., the reader [see also Smith 1971:12]). Therefore, it will also seem clear that the communicative approach can be used in the teaching of reading. The communicative teaching of reading can perhaps be characterized by specifying the language skills involved in reading and outlining the procedures to be followed in helping students learn those language skills.

I have attempted to do this by going through the list of language skills in Munby's *Communicative Syllabus Design*, and identified fourteen main skills and four additional skills (see Appendix). I will not say much about procedures except that the teachers, in their capacity as "facilitators", need only make the students aware of the existence of those language skills and exemplify their use, and for the rest be ready to assist students who ask for help.

The second question concerns what one should be teaching in the teaching of FL reading:

(1) The *skill* of reading (i.e., comprehension reading or "fluent reading" in Smith's terminology in opposition to "beginning reading" [1971:3])?
(2) The *language features* in the reading passage?
(3) The *information* contained in the reading passage?

In short, are the students learning a skill, language, or information, or some combination of the three items?

If it is the "skill of comprehension reading" that we should be teaching, are we assuming that the students in secondary schools do not yet have the skill, i.e., they do not know how to read? However, the fact is that the students in secondary school already know how to read in their native language; in Indonesia, at least in *Bahasa Indonesia*. Or are we saying that reading in *Bahasa Indonesia* and reading in English are different in nature and not only, or mainly, different in linguistic code? It seems to me that the nature of comprehension reading is basically the same in any language. There may be some cultural differences in the communicative strategies of different languages, including in those of writing, but it is not those differences that are usually dealt with in FL reading lessons.

If we intend to teach the skill of comprehension reading in the FL, it would seem unreasonable to expect that the students would be able to achieve a higher level of ability in reading the FL than their reading skill in the NL, which they use as a medium of instruction in all subjects and in which they do all their reading. Therefore, common sense would dictate that we should not make comprehension reading skill as the objective of the reading component in the teaching of EFL. If the students acquire a higher skill in comprehension reading by practising reading in their NL *and* in a FL, it would just be a bonus on whatever the students will be gaining from a FL reading lesson.

Is it then information or knowledge that the students are acquiring from a reading lesson in a FL? It is very alluring to give a positive answer to this question. However, that cannot be a legitimate objective of a FL reading lesson, because whatever educational information is needed by secondary school students, it is better and more easily acquired through the NL. If in a FL reading passage some new information is presented or some familiar information is presented again for the purpose of refresher or reinforcement, it should then be regarded as a bonus on top of the main purpose of the reading passage.

The third possibility is "teaching the language features in the reading passage". These language features will include structures, vocabulary and communicative strategies of writing. These language features will then be introduced in natural contexts and presented as

the communicative devices that they are. The use of already familiar language elements and communicative unit or reading passage, is to be considered as the natural reinforcement of previously learnt knowledge.

Of the three possible instructional objectives of FL reading, this third one, the teaching of language features, seemed to us the most reasonable objective. Therefore, we made the reading lessons a learning experience to expand the learner's knowledge of vocabulary and structures. When we started writing the textbooks, we were not quite clear about the best way of handling the communicative strategies like generalization, definition, description, comparison, analogy, classification and hypothesization. In the first place, we believed that these strategies were universal, although there might be language-specific techniques of certain communicative functions. However, none of us were aware of any contrastive analyses of such communicative strategies in English and *Bahasa Indonesia*, on which we could draw to determine which particular communicative strategies would need special treatment.

Secondly, if we had included the discriminate understanding of communicative strategies as an instructional objectives, it would have further complicated our efforts to maintain the natural communicative character of the reading passages. Some of the topics were determined by the Department. These topics deal with matters of national or social importance which have an educational value like ecology and family planning. These topics are familiar to the students and so are the other topics of the reading passages. The use of these familiar topics are intended *to provide a cognitive set for the learning of new English language features*. In addition, the discussion of these topics in the reading passage is expected to reinforce the students' positive attitude toward the topics.

If a topic is rather unfamiliar to the students, it is introduced by proactive facilitating organizers (cf. Ausubel 1963:29). Although the students learn English for ability to read for information, this ability is to be used only *after* they have acquired sufficient language knowledge. Therefore, we do not use the reading lesson of EFL to convey objective new information but *to learn the English language*. Questions relating to content and inference are used only to check the students' level of *understanding the new language features* presented in the reading passage. To Widdowson's question on the topic

of comprehending and reading how we can "contrive to make the language we present less of a contrivance" (1978:79), we would answer with the first of his three alternatives; namely, use reading passages which are also "pieces of genuine discourse" and we would add "whose topics are familiar to the learners".

Conclusion

We have taken a glance of the developments of TEFL in Indonesia and the Department of Education programmes in writing new EFL course books and revising the syllabus. We have discussed some of the problems encountered in writing communicative materials to a structural syllables for use by teachers trained in the audiolingual tradition.

The solution attempted in Indonesia is the writing of textbooks with a communicative orientation but with a still prominent structure component in which Bahasa Indonesia is used to guarantee that the students understand the meaning of all the structures and forms and their functions in communication. Meaningfulness is made a *sine qua non* in the TEFL materials and an essential feature of the new syllabus.

The question of the reasonable objectives of the teaching of reading has been discussed at some length. One fact cited but generally overlooked is that EFL learners have already been taught comprehension reading skill in their NL. There is no need to duplicate this effort except when there are differences in communicative strategies between English and the NL. Our conclusion has therefore been that the main objective of the reading lesson should be the teaching of new language features in natural discourse. Therefore, the topics of the reading passages should be, or be made, familiar to the students. Any other learning obtained from the reading lesson is to be considered contingent gains.

Some of the things I have mentioned above may sound unusual and controversial. This perhaps came from my mental propensity for exploring avenues of thought "where angels fear to tread". Therefore, I would feel gratified if I have succeeded in provoking one or two of you to worry about something I have put forward above.

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APPENDIX

List of Language Skills in Reading
(extracted from J. Munby, *Communicative Syllabus Design*. The numbers in parentheses are the numbers in CSD)

1. Deducing the meaning and use of unfamiliar lexical items, through understanding word formation.	(19)
2. Understanding explicitly stated information.	(20)
3. Understanding information in the text, not explicitly stated, through	(22)
4. Expressing information implicitly, through.	(23)
5. Understanding conceptual meaning, especially.	(24)
6. Understanding the communicative value (function) of sentences and utterances.	(26)
7. Understanding relations within the sentence, especially elements of sentence structure.	(28)
8. Understanding relations between parts of a text through lexical cohesion devices of repetition.	(30)
9. *Understanding relations between parts of a text* through *grammatical cohesion devices* of reference (anaphoric and cataphoric).	(32)
10. Interpreting text by going outside it, using exophoric reference	(34)
11. Recognising indicators in discourse for introducing an idea.	(35)
12. Distinguishing the main idea from supporting details, by differentiating.	(39)
13. Extracting salient points to summarise.	(40)
14. Selective extraction of relevant points from a text, involving.	(41)
15. Basic reference skills: understanding and use of graphic presentation, viz. headings, sub-headings, numbering, indentation, bold print, footnotes.	(44)
16. Recognising the script of a language.	(17)
17. Skimming to obtain.	(45)
18. Scanning to locate specifically required information on.	(46)

The Role of Communicative Language Teaching in Secondary Schools — with Special Reference to Teaching in Singapore

T. A. KIRKPATRICK

Introduction

In this paper I want to consider the advisability and/or applicability of communicative language teaching in secondary schools in Singapore. First, therefore, I shall say a little about the secondary school population and then briefly describe the secondary school English Language syllabus.

There are about 175,000 secondary students in Singapore. The majority of these attend schools where English is the medium of instruction. Indeed, by 1987, English is planned to be the medium of instruction in all schools and Mandarin, Malay and Tamil will be taught only as second languages. The exception to this, the nine so called Special Assistance Plan (SAP) schools, allow students to take both English and Mandarin at L1 level in the 'O' level exams.

Although the vast majority of secondary schoolchildren attend schools where English is the medium of instruction, it would be misleading to suggest that they all speak English equally as well. In some schools the students come from home backgrounds where English is literally the mother tongue and it makes sense to talk of these children as being L1 speakers of English. On the other hand, there are many students who have first come into contact with English in any meaningful way only as a language of instruction in primary schools. The exposure these children get to English in their own homes may be minimal and although the school timetable indicates that English is their L1 and, for example, Mandarin their L2, practically speaking they are more fluent users of Mandarin — their school L2 — than they are of English — their school L1. To make matters more complicated, some may be happier using Hokkien or another dialect of Chinese than either Mandarin or English.

In other words then, there is an enormous range of English

speaking ability among Singapore secondary school students. This has obvious implications for English Language teaching in Singapore. Mr Li's English Language class may comprise students who are to all intents and purposes native speakers of English while Miss Soh's English Language class may comprise students who are to no intents and purposes native speakers of English. In addition, mixed ability classes are not uncommon.

These points taken with the usual variables — but no less important for being usual — such as the motivation and attitudes of teachers and students, the aptitude of teachers and students, the previous learning experiences of teachers and students, class size, four year courses or five year courses and so on, make the language teaching situation in Singapore a deliciously complex one.

Against this complex situation we must now place the Singapore secondary school English Language syllabus. This syllabus, or more correctly, these syllabuses as there is one for the four year "Express" 'O' level course and another for the five year "Normal" 'O' level course, list(s) grammatical items that are to be revised or taught in each school year. A typical extract from these lists is : (Ministry of Education, Singapore, 1983)

GRAMMAR

Items to be Revised/Taught	**Remarks**
Revise	Revise all the tenses taught in Secondary 1 and 2 (see pages 15–16 and 25–26), but at a higher level of language use, i.e., with more difficult vocabulary and longer texts.
1. **TENSE AND ASPECT**	
Simple Present	Sequence of tenses is very important and exercises should draw pupils' attention to this:
for * habitual activities	
* universal statements	

Present Tense

* actions or states occurring at the moment of speaking
* future actions

Changi Airport, Singapore, *is* one of the largest and most modern airports in the world. For many visitors to Singapore it *is* their first sight of the country, and it *is* certainly an impressive one.

Present Continuous

for
* actions taking place currently or at the time of speaking
* future actions

Exercises should also include those where a combination of tenses is used because of content:

Simple Past

for
* completed actions with or without the mention of a definite time
* conditional sentences
* past habits
* reporting speech in which simple present is used.

Present and Past Tenses

When she *was* a young woman, with hardly any money, Charlotte Bronte, a nineteenth-century writer, *worked* as governess and a school-teacher. Perhaps this *is* why she made the heroine of her most famous novel, *Jane Eyre*, a governess, too.

Past Continuous

for
* continuing past actions
* reporting speech in which present continuous is used

Present and Present Tenses

Under the Chinese lunar calendar, years *are divided* into cycles of 12, each one represented by an animal. Legend *has* it that Buddha *summoned* all the beasts in creation before one new year

	* building up an atmosphere in description	— but only 12 animals *showed* up. And to each of them Buddha *offered* a year which *was* to bear its name.
Present Perfect		
for	* completed past actions	
	* past action which extend to the present	
	* actions recently completed	
Past Perfect		
for	* showing a shifting back of time sequence	
	* reporting speech containing the present perfect	

In addition to these lists, the syllabus includes notes and comments on the importance of listening comprehension, oral production, reading skills and writing skills, but I think it would be fair to say that the basis of the syllabus is grammatical. It is beyond the scope of this paper to argue for or against such a syllabus and to risk repeating much of what was said at last year's seminar on syllabus design. Rather what I want to do is consider the role communicative language teaching can play in Singapore secondary schools given the situation in schools outlined above and the syllabus with which teachers and materials writers have to work.

To what Extent can Communicative Language Teaching 'Work' with a Grammar Based Syllabus?

Few people have argued that "knowledge" of grammar is unimportant for language learning. On the contrary, grammar has been

seen as very important for learning a language as Comenius pointed out in the seventeenth century.

> All languages are easier to learn by practice than from rules. But rules assist and strengthen the knowledge derived from practice (quoted in Stern 1983, p. 78).

A more recent quote, this time taken from Keith Morrow:

> Communicating involves using appropriate forms in appropriate ways. The acquisition of forms is therefore very important (Johnson and Morrow 1981, p. 65).

As implied in these quotes, however, it has been widely recognised that language learning requires more than learning grammar and this remark of Heine's suggests that courses that concentrated too much on grammar drew criticism.

> How fortunate the Romans were that they had not to learn the Latin language, because, if they had done so, they would never have had time to conquer the world (quoted in Kelly 1969, p. 312).

Certain methods of teaching grammar have also received their share of criticism and for many years as evidenced by this quote of Lemare.

> Though sentences are made up of discrete units only a fool would dream of teaching the units of language one by one. No mother ever tried it that way with her children so why try it in the classroom? (quoted in Kelly 1969, p. 40).

The point I wish to make here is that it is not in any way controversial to argue that if a person wants to be able to speak a language well, then he must at some stage master the grammar. We can safely say that mastery of grammar is necessary for the mastery of language. We must also quickly add that although it may be necessary it is not sufficient. This fact is implicit in the remarks made by both Comenius and Morrow referred to above. The controversy stems not from the importance or not of grammar but stems instead from the questions of how grammar is best learnt and taught and of how grammar and using the language be best combined in language learning and teaching.

There has been no shortage in the past of people or schools or methods of the "I'm right, you're wrong" variety who have claimed to have found the answer to these questions. For example consider this claim of Stack's made in 1964:

> Today's foreign language teaching is achieving success unknown under the traditional methods. This has been accompanied by the application of structural linguistics to teaching, particularly in the realms of proper sequence, oral grammar, inductive grammar and the use of pattern drills to give intensive practice.

In passing, it is interesting to note that today's foreign language teachers are arguing about what the proper sequence is or whether there is any need of sequencing at all, are still arguing about the inductive-deductive dilemma and are probably dubious about the efficacy of pattern drills.

The methods from grammar-translation to direct to audio-visual have all been influential, had their partisan adherents and have all contributed something to foreign language teaching. Despite their contributions, however, none have proved flawless or foolproof and there has been a shift away from "the method". In more recent years, "the method" has been replaced by what could be called teachers' handbooks. An early example of an excellent handbook is Wilga Rivers' *Teaching Foreign Language Skills*.

One of the consequences of this shift from method to handbook has been the increasing number of teachers who use an eclectic approach rather than rigorously applying a method. This in turn has led to more interest in language learning and teaching principles and, it has to be said, a certain amount of confusion among trainee teachers who want to be given the "right" method to teach with. Teacher trainers are also becoming confused, even desperate, as they attempt to keep up with the rapidly developing fields of linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, educational linguistics, to say nothing of language teaching itself.

The shift then has been away from a prescribed method. One of the goals of those currently engaged in language teaching and language learning research is in H.H. Stern's words

> ...to suggest a more differentiated and more empirically sustained view of language teaching which can be consistently and comprehensively applied to the great variety of situations in which second language teaching occurs (Stern 1983, p. 495).

I would now like to turn to the question I raised earlier — to

what extent can communicative language teaching 'work' with a grammar based syllabus? In answering this question we can go some way to deciding whether communicative language teaching can be "consistently and comprehensively applied to the great variety of situations in which second language teaching occurs".

Communicative language teaching is an idea or a set of principles that owes much to a social view of language and to the concept of communicative competence described by Hymes (1970). The goal of communicative language teaching is to produce people who are communicatively, not merely, linguistically competent.

Among the principles of communicative language teaching is: the message is as important as the grammatical forms that convey the message. Implied in this is that teachers should show genuine interest in what a child says, reads or writes.

This looks like a fairly challenging principle for the Singapore secondary school teacher who has to follow a scheme of work based on the syllabus and which requires the teaching of, say, the present perfect continuous in week three. In other words, is it possible to teach the present perfect continuous — this grammatical item was deliberately chosen as it usually sends a shudder down the spines of teachers when they see it looming — following this principle? I think it is. Below is the tapescript of some material written to teach the present perfect continuous. It is the tapescript of a short interview with a fictitious — although based on a real one — anthropologist called Professor Grimble:

THE INTERVIEW

Interviewer	:	Tonight I'm pleased to welcome in the studio Professor Norbert Grimble. Professor Grimble has been studying the Tamil aborigines of Butterfly Island. Professor Grimble, how long have you been studying the Tamil aborigines?
Professor Grimble	:	I've been studying them for a long time....for about thirteen years.
Interviewer	:	I see, and have you been living with them for all that time?
Professor Grimble	:	Oh, no ... I've only been living with them for about two years.

Interviewer : Ah...and how long have they been living on Butterfly Island?

Professor Grimble : They've been living there for generations...for several hundred years...at least since the thirteenth century.

Interviewer : Is their way of life changing at the moment?

Professor Grimble : It certainly is...for example, parents have been sending their children to schools on the neighbouring mainland for many years, whereas before, they didn't have any formal education.

Interviewer : Has this affected life on the island?

Professor Grimble : Oh yes, indeed...you see, people have been leaving the island in order to go to school, but they've not been coming back...in fact they've been leaving so fast that there are now only a few families left for me to do any research on.

Interviewer : Well, I suppose that unless you finish your research quickly, there won't be anybody left for you to do your research on?

Professor Grimble : Yes...I'm afraid that's absolutely right.

(*Interlink* 3, 1982)

In the first instance this can be used as a listening comprehension exercise and the students given worksheets to help them take notes of the interview. In other words, at this stage, the focus of the interview is the message it contains. There is no need at this stage for the teacher to draw the students' attention to the frequently repeated use of the present perfect continuous. The students' sole task is to understand the message being conveyed.

After the students have completed the first task, the teacher has a choice of activities that he can ask the students to perform. He can provide a second worksheet that requires students to note down the exact words used in an excerpt from the tape. The teacher can also provide the students with question and/or answer cues so that they can work in pairs and run through the dialogue. Clearly, at this stage, the teacher is manipulating the activities so that the grammatical form of the present perfect continuous is highlighted, and many might therefore argue that these acivities can hardly be called communicative. Yet, as I mentioned earlier, the relationship between

the teaching of form and the teaching of use is the subject of much debate. Using material in the first instance to concentrate on the message it conveys and in the second instance on the forms that convey the message may be one way of combining the two. And, having used the material in this way, the teacher can now proceed to the third stage of the lesson which could require pair work set up in the following way.

Student A : You are an interviewer with SBC radio. You host a show called "My Guest Tonight". Your guest tonight is Professor Thimble. Professor Thimble is very interested in fish. He has been studying the "blind fish" of Iran for years. These fish live in underground rivers in Iran.

Find out :
1. How long he has been studying these fish.
2. If he lives in Iran and if so how long he has been living there.
3. How long the fish have been living there.
4. Any special characteristics of the fish.
5. Any problems he has.
6. Any other information that might be of interest to your listeners.

Student B : You are Professor Thimble. You are the guest on SBC' s radio programme "My Guest Tonight".
You are a specialist in the blind fish of Iran. These fish live in underground rivers and have been living there for centuries. They are not really blind — they just do not have any eyes as they have been living in darkness for so long they have stopped 'growing' eyes as they do not need them. You've been studying these fish for 22 years, but have only been living in Iran since 1979.
The fish population is dying out as the locals have recently developed a taste for them — and have therefore been catching great numbers of them.
Answer the interviewer's questions. Be prepared to provide any information that you think might interest the listeners.

After a minute or so in which each student studies his role and can ask the teacher for any clarification he may need, students A interview students B. At a later stage, the teacher might tape some students and play it back to the class. The teacher could also ask the pairs to write out their dialogues.

This lesson on the present continuous can therefore be divided into at least three stages. The first stage is a listening comprehension and the focus is on the message. The second stage has a structural focus which gives students practice in using the form. The third stage comprises a task the main focus of which is communicative but which provides a context where the present perfect continuous can be used where appropria...

It might be interesting at this stage to compare two examples of material. The first was written for Singapore and based on the Secondary One syllabus. The second was written by Krashen and Terrell and appears in their book *The Natural Approach* (1983). Both materials deal with adverbs of frequency.

Example 1 : In a similar activity, the students use adverbs of frequency to describe their eating habits.

How frequently do you eat the following foods? Use (1) a lot (2) sometimes (3) almost never (4) never for your answers.

1. For breakfast I eat:
   a) eggs
   b) ham
   c) cereal
   d) hamburgers
   e) beans
   f) bananas

2. For lunch I eat:
   a) a sandwich
   b) spaghetti
   c) fried potatoes
   d) a salad
   e) fried chicken
   f) pancakes

The follow-up teacher-talk is similar to the previous activity on beverages:

Who eats eggs for breakfast? How do you cook your eggs? Does anyone like soft boiled eggs? Who eats meat in the morning? What kind? Why are certain meats preferred for breakfast? Why not? Does anyone eat hamburgers for breakfast? Why? Why not? Bananas?

The Natural Approach (1983)

The point I would like to make here is that the materials written for a grammar based syllabus do not markedly differ from the materials written to exemplify the Natural Approach. In other words, materials written for a grammar based syllabus can be seen as "communicative" as those written for an approach whose authors would strongly argue is not based on a grammatical syllabus! It would appear then that communicative language teaching is suited to both a grammar based syllabus and the 'Natural Approach'.

This may be an appropriate time to introduce a further principle of communicative language teaching which is "the whole is more than the sum of its parts" (Johnson and Morrow 1981, p. 61). Communicative language teaching is less concerned with language as a series of individual sentences or grammatical items and more concerned with language as a whole.

Now, simply because the grammatical syllabus lists a series of items to be taught in any one year does not necessarily imply that the teaching is based solely on grammatical parts rather than the language as a whole. I suggest that two criteria can be adopted which will help students work with language as a whole. The second of these criteria — the use of what Brumfit (1982), among others, has called fluepcy exercises — will form the next section of this paper. I shall end this section of the paper by discussing the first criterion which is that lessons should be linked in a more or less obvious way.

The antithesis to this is represented by the timetable that has Reading Comprehension down for Tuesday between 8.15 and 9.25, has Grammar down for Wednesday between 12.25 and 1.00 and Composition Writing down for say Friday between 11.50 and 1.00.

The problem with this type of timetable is that it encourages both teachers and students to think of language as being compartmentalised into discrete components, and little effort is therefore made to link the lessons in any way. It is not uncommon to come across a situation where, for example, the reading comprehension deals with some form of narrative adventure, while the grammar introduces "going to" and the composition lesson requires the children to write a description of "My Best Friend". Now it seems to me that teaching English to secondary students is in itself a challenging enough task and does not need additional teacher or timetable made obstacles. I also feel that teaching English to secondary school students can be made more successful by making sure that a series of

lessons is linked, that the skills are linked and that a series of lessons has a goal that can be identified by both teachers and students. Instead, therefore, of requiring students to read a passage and answer questions on it simply because it is the reading comprehension lesson, students should be reading a passage because it contains information or deals with a topic that will help the students perform a later task. This later task could well be a composition. Similarly, the grammar item from the syllabus being introduced or revised that week could occur in the reading passage. This is not to say that reading passages need to be adulterated and crammed with the particular grammar item. It is to say that it makes more sense to select, where possible, a reading passage in which the grammatical item occurs naturally than to select a reading passage in which the grammatical item does not occur. It also seems to me more sensible to provide the students with a writing task where the grammatical item could be used naturally, than to ask them to complete a writing task which will 'prevent' the use of the grammatical item.

In this section of my paper I have tried to show that the principles of communicative language teaching can work with a grammar based syllabus and that the teaching of grammatical items can be dealt with in a communicative way.

In the next section of the paper I shall turn to the role that communicative language teaching can play in providing vital additional learning tasks to complement its grammar teaching role.

The Role of Fluency Exercises and the Grammar Based Syllabus.

"Whoever wants to speak well must murder the language" (Jespersen 1904). To put this another way, we could say that whoever wants to be able to speak a language well must try and speak it. This, in turn, means that the learner must try and speak the language before he can speak it well. This, in turn, means that the learner is going to make mistakes when he tries to speak the language.

Fluency exercises are those designed to encourage the learner to speak and to communicate and to try and handle the language as a whole. Such exercises tend to be task based where students have to communicate with each other in order to complete a specific task or to solve a problem.

Below are some examples of such exercises.

Example 1

Group Work An expedition to Nepal

Next month there will be an expedition to Nepal. The expedition will last for one month. The purpose of the expedition is to trek through the mountains of Nepal and to find out as much as possible about:

1. the bird life of Nepal
2. the animals of Nepal
3. the flowers of Nepal
4. the people of Nepal

So far three people have been chosen to go on the expedition.

They are: Bill — the expedition leader and an expert on birds
Kwang Ming — the cook
Florence — an expert on flowers

The expedition needs two more people but five people have applied. Study the details of each of these five people and choose two of them to join the expedition. You must give reasons for your decisions.

The five candidates

Name	Age	Skills and Hobbies	Experience	Other Information
Dixon Lee	16	1. Good at climbing 2. Excellent cook 3. Interested in photography and animals	Went on an expedition to the Sahara desert last year.	A very serious person. He often complains about things.
Mavis Ng	17	1. Good at climbing 2. Fond of painting 3. Very knowledgeable about animals	None	A very cheerful person. She gets along well with other people.
Mok Mui Pin	16	1. Good at climbing 2. Fond of cooking	Has completed First Aid course.	A very organised person. He is rather impatient. Afraid of insects.

		3. Very knowledge-able about flowers		
Raymond Tan	17	1. Good at climbing 2. Fond of photography 3. Interested in people	Has completed First Aid course.	A quiet but popular person.
Kwang Yong	15	1. Good at climbing 2. Interested in people 3. Very knowledge-able about birds	Went on an expedition to Australia last year.	A very serious person. He became ill in Australia but is now better.

Example 2 **Who Did It?**

Here are 13 clues that you will need to solve a murder.

1. Mr Tang died at midnight.
2. The police found a knife. The knife had Mr Tang's blood on it.
3. The bullet in Mr Tang's leg came from Mr Chen's gun.
4. A night-watchman saw Mr Chen go into Mr Tang's house at 11.00 pm.
5. Mr Li's son broke both legs in a traffic accident last week.
6. A night-watchman saw Mr Tang at 11.15 pm.
7. Mr Li hated Mr Tang because Mr Tang knocked over Mr Li's son in a car accident last week.
8. The police found a gun. The gun belonged to Mr Chen.
9. Mr Chen hated Mr Tang because Mr Tang was a better businessman. All Mr Chen's customers went to Mr Tang's shop.
10. Mr Tang's body had a bullet hole in the leg.
11. A night-watchman saw Mr Li go into Mr Tang's house at 11.45 pm.
12. Mr Tang's body had a knife wound in the back.
13. The knife had Mr Li's fingerprints on it.

1. Using these 13 clues find out the answers to these questions.
   1. Who murdered Mr Tang?
   2. How did he murder Mr Tang?
   3. When did he murder Mr Tang?
   4. Why did he murder Mr Tang?
2. Then write a brief passage describing what took place between 11.00 pm and midnight.
   Start your story by writing out Clue 4.

(Adapted from an exercise in Stanford and Stanford 1969)

Example 3

Student A : Your map shows the positions of some of the oceans, seas, rivers and mountain ranges listed below. Your partner's map shows the position of the other oceans etc. listed below. Work with your partner so that you can both complete your maps. Do not look at your partner's map.

Student B : Your map shows the positions of some of the oceans, seas, rivers and mountains ranges listed below. Your partner's map shows the positions of the other oceans etc. listed below. Work with your partner so that you can both complete your maps. Do not look at your partner's map.

The list (given to both students)

The Mississippi River	The Alps	The Black Sea
The Amazon River	The Andes	The Red Sea
The Nile River	The Rockies	The Atlantic Ocean
The Ganges River	The Himalayas	The Pacific Ocean
The Huang He River	The South China Sea	The Indian Ocean
The Chang Jiang River	The Mediterranean Sea	

Each student is given a map. Student A's map shows the positions of half of the geographical features mentioned above. Student B's map shows the positions of the remaining half.

(*Interlink* 1983)

Although similar, there are some differences in these exercises. In the first one, all the students, working in groups, are given all the information and have to make an intelligent decision based on that information. The second exercise can be dealt with in the same way,

or, alternatively the clues can be divided up among members of the group so that the transfer and compilation of information becomes necessary before the group can solve the problem. The third exercise is more of the information transfer type and should be done as pair work. One principle, however, is common to all three exercises and it is that by communicating with each other, the students will be able to complete tasks.

While the learners are engaged in such exercises, it is anticipated that they will make grammatical mistakes. However, because the aim of these exercises is to encourage the learners to communicate, grammatical mistakes made by the students should go uncorrected by the teacher. There are several reasons for this:

(1) Learners cannot help but make grammatical mistakes when engaged in fluency exercises.

(2) Any correction will disturb the nature of fluency exercises. Trying to communicate becomes impossible if someone else keeps interrupting you and telling you that you have left an article out or got a tense marker wrong.

(3) Interrupting people to correct their grammar when they are trying to communicate will make these people unwilling to try to communicate. Once that happens and the learners become embarrassed or frightened of the consequences of trying to communicate, then the whole aim of fluency exercises is lost.

This whole area of learners' feelings towards language learning in general and communicating in particular is of crucial importance. Krashen (1981) argues that what he calls the low affective filter is a feature that encourages language acquisition and that learners should therefore never be put on the defensive. Furthermore, he and Terrell argue that "the affective filter is very high among adolescents. Peer evaluation is probably the single most important factor in the behaviour of an adolescent. Therefore it takes a very talented teacher to create an atmosphere favourable for acquisition among a group of young teenagers" (1983, p. 179).

Schumann (1978) in research on Spanish speaking immigrants in the United States who had failed to learn English, argued that sociocultural and affective factors were the key causes of their failure.

A related classroom atmosphere where students are not frightened or feel worried about embarrassing themselves is there-

fore not only a 'nice' thing for the teacher to try and establish but also a vital one as it will help students learn, especially if these students are secondary children and young teenagers.

This then provides us with another powerful reason for using fluency exercises in the secondary classroom as they will, if handled correctly, help create a relaxed atmosphere. Furthermore, in situations where students are, to slightly alter a phenomenon noted by Abbott (1981), learning English for no obvious reason and are therefore not highly motivated to learn English, fluency exercises, with their emphasis on communication and task completion, can help provide 'internal' motivation. In other words, the materials themselves can provide motivation that is originally lacking in the students.

Morrow has argued that functions can play a role in this type of teaching and in providing motivation for students as:

> learning to socialise is learning to do something. It provides an opportunity for learning the language in use (Johnson and Morrow 1981, p. 55).

I am sure this is true in certain learning situations but I wonder whether Singaporean secondary schoolchildren would readily perceive the use of learning to socialise, as this is done in peer groups and children have their own registers and varieties for this. In Singapore, I feel that fluency exercises are more likely to be motivating as students can feel that they have accomplished specific tasks. This also holds true for a wide range of other exercises I have not mentioned. These include listening comprehension exercises, exercises designed to help students 'read' a variety of text types, and writing exercises such as form competion and so on. These latter exercises are well known to teachers so I do not intend to talk in any detail about them here, although some examples of these exercises are included in the Appendix.

To sum up this section of the paper, I have tried to convince the readers that fluency exercises be seen as a vital part of any language teaching course. They help students in their attempts to communicate; they create a relaxed classroom atmosphere; and they provide motivation for the students. They are particularly vital for secondary school courses that are based on a grammar based

syllabus.

I should now like to turn to the final section of this paper and consider the way communicative language teaching can help school children develop cross cultural awareness and learn certain communicative strategies of the language(s) they are learning.

Communicative Language Teaching and Communicative Strategies

The goal of communicative language teaching is to help students become communicatively, as well as linguistically, competent. When I was working for the British Council in Hong Kong, I came across this example of someone who was linguistically but not communicatively competent. A Chinese police constable goes to ask his expatriate officer for a day's leave.

Chinese Police Constable : (CPC) Sir?
Expatriate Officer : (EO) Yes what is it?
CPC : My mother is not very well sir
EO : So?
CPC : She has to go into hospital sir
EO : Well, get on with it. What do you want?
CPC : On Thursday sir
EO : Bloody hell man, what do you want?
CPC : Nothing sir

Obviously communication broke down here but the question was why. Leaving aside for the moment aspects such as insensitivity and rank, I wondered whether communication had broken down because the CPC had sequenced his request in the wrong way. I then asked the EO how he would expect someone to ask for a day's leave. The result was this:

CPC : Excuse me sir
EO : Yes what is it?
CPC : I'd like to request a day's leave for Thursday this week, please sir.
EO : I see. Why?
CPC : Well, my mother has to go into hospital on that day sir, and I'd like to go with her to make sure everything is all right
EO : OK then
CPC : Thank you sir.

The crucial difference between what the EO wanted and what he actually got seemed to be that he wanted the request to be signalled early but in the actual dialogue the request is not explicitly signalled at all.

This suggested that it might be interesting to investigate whether Chinese speakers order information in a different way from English speakers, and if so, whether they use their L1 communicative strategies when they speak English. This seems likely as, as Gumperz (1979) has pointed out, many people, even when they have an excellent command of the structural patterns of a second or foreign language still use the communicative strategies of their first language when using the second or foreign language. This might then help explain why certain stereotypes of the Chinese — that they are inscrutable, never get to the point, etc — are held by many English speakers. Consider, for example, these remarks made by Kaplan (1972) about the essays of Chinese students: (by an English standard of rhetoric) "the essays are characterised by an inability to get to the point and stick with it" (p. 60).

I, together with Yip Hon Yuen of the Chinese Studies Department at the Institute of Education in Singapore, have recently been engaged in research in this area, and although much more research needs to be done, it does appear that Mandarin speakers and English speakers prefer to use different ways of sequencing information when they are, for example, making suggestions or recommendations. Below is a literal translation of a Mandarin speaker's arguments for the adoption of new teaching methods:

> Wu : As for this point, there's an area I don't agree with...(teacher) Lin mentioned the adoption of traditional teaching methods, (well) if we take history, in general, traditional teaching consists of the teacher reading, the students listening, then they go home and memorise the things that are coming up in the exams, (well) I feel this...as for students, comparatively intelligent students and who have good memories and especially in the case of girls, this method* doesn't cause problems but for students who aren't so intelligent, I think that this approach* causes serious problems. Because of this, talking about a subject like history students, if the teacher himself does nothing to arouse students' interest, I think that the students' listening is also very boring. (therefore) as for this subject history, they naturally don't have any interest in it.

> (Therefore) if we adopt new teaching methods, things will be different, because we can have group discussions can't we? Let's put forward a reason..., why was the American Civil War as it was ... or why was the war in South East Asia as it was. Students may then have their own point of view, and can themselves pose a few questions, I think that if we have these kinds of teaching methods, perhaps, students will become more interested because interest, as far as students are concerned, is extremely important.

This paper is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of this data, but I would like to point out that Wu here provides his listeners with a great deal of 'old' information before he actually says: (therefore) "if we adopt new teaching methods, things will be different."

This phenomenon of piling up pieces of 'old' information — what Yip and I have called "topic stacking" — we have discovered to be very common in Mandarin. If Mandarin speakers use this strategy when they speak or write English, this may provide a reason why the essays of Kaplan's Chinese students are characterised by "an inability to get the point and stick with it".

This has obvious implications for language teaching in Singapore, where most schoolchildren are required to learn both Mandarin and English and have to write 'O' level essays in English. If our present and future research confirm this Mandarin 'topic stacking' phenomenon, then materials written to teach Mandarin speakers the information sequencing strategies of English are needed — and vice versa of course.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to argue that Singapore's grammar based syllabus and communicative language teaching need not be enemies but can work together quite happily. However, I have also stressed the importance of the role fluency exercises should play to complement "communicative grammar teaching". Finally, I have suggested that, in addition, to grammar teaching and fluency exercises, materials designed to help Mandarin speakers learn certain communicative strategies of English and to help English speakers learn certain communicative strategies of Mandarin would be very useful.

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APPENDIX Examples of Exercises

1. Listening comprehension. Tapescript and Worksheet

The Principal's Talk — Tapescript

Principal : Well, good morning everybody. I hope I won't keep you waiting too long today, as I notice that the weather isn't very good, and I'll...uh...try and finish what I have to say before it starts to rain. Now, the first thing I have to say, I'm afraid, is rather unpleasant. I've had some complaints from many of the teachers that pupils are making much more noise this term — this apparently pupils are making much more noise this term — this apparently especially in the corridors. Now, you must make less noise — it's very disturbing for classes when they are actually in action and when they're teaching. So please, when you are walking in the corridors, please..., please..., do not make so much noise. Last term, everyone was very good about not making too much noise, I'm not quite sure what's happened this term, but anyway...unless noise drops, I'm afraid I shall have to take some disciplinary action and I really don't want to do that. Now, the second thing is, I'm afraid I'm very unhappy about the standard of dress. I've noticed dirty uniforms.... I've noticed some boy's hair beginning to look a little long. Now I hardly need to remind you, uniforms must be clean, boys' hair — your hair must not cover your ears. Now, you all know this, so ... this is your last warning. If I see anybody with long hair or a dirty uniform again I'm afraid I will have to take disciplinary action. Now, some announcements, the first one — three classes, they are Secondary 1/7, Secondary 1/8 and Secondary 2/8. Please remember, you have your class photos tomorrow. Remember therefore to wear your school ties and of course...clean uniforms and short hair. Secondary 1/7, your photograph will be at 1.45pm. Secondary 1/8, your photo will be at 2pm. and Secondary 2/8, your photo will be at 2.15pm. Please be punctual....Your form teachers will give you any more details that you need about these photographs. Second announcement is that on Friday, there will be a concert at the Cultural Theatre — that's the theatre in Grange Road, near the Marco Polo Hotel. A group will be singing folk songs. Tickets cost three dollars for adults and one fifty for school children, and the concert starts at seven thirty. Now, the final announcement are some sports scores from yesterday. I'm afraid, the football team

was beaten ... and beaten by Swiss Cottage, three — one. Now, we don't like being beaten by Swiss Cottage, so I hope that doesn't happen again. The table tennis team, I'm afraid, was beaten very easily by Jurong Secondary School. But, some good news ... the last piece of news ... the hockey team beat R.I. in a very exciting match, three — two. Well done to the hockey team! Right, that's it for today.

THE PRINCIPAL'S TALK
WORKSHEET

Listen to the tape and complete this worksheet

A **DISCIPLINE**

The principal mentions two problems concerning discipline.

a) What are they? 1.
2.

b) What actions must students take?

B **ANNOUNCEMENTS**

EVENT	CLASS CONCERNED	TIME OF EVENT
1.	1.	1.
	2.	2.
	3.	3.

What do you think would happen to a Secondary 2/8 boy who turned up without a tie and with long hair?

2. _____

EVENT	PLACE	PRICE-adults	PRICE-children	TIME

What type of music would you expect to hear?

3. _____

EVENT	OPPONENTS	RESULT

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

2. **'Reading' comprehension.** ***How Fast Can He Do It?***

Mr Chen wants to visit these cities and in this order:
Singapore Hong Kong Tokyo Manila Taipei Sydney Singapore

Now look at the information provided in these boxes. Work out what is the shortest time Mr Chen's journey can take. Explain your answer.

Singapore Hong Kong Daily flights Dep : 8.15 am Arr : 11.30 am	Tokyo Manila Daily flights Dep : 9.00 am Arr : 11.30 am	Sydney Singapore Daily flights Dep : 2 pm Arr : 11.30 pm
Manila Taipei Daily flights Dep : 11.45 am Arr : 1.00 pm	Hong Kong Tokyo Daily flights Dep : 11.00 am Arr : 3.30 pm	Taipei Sydney Daily flights Dep : 11.40 am Arr : 9.00 pm

Learning Language on the Worksite : some Implications for Pedagogy

BIKRAM K. DAS

An international seminar on language teaching can be expected to concern itself primarily with mainstream learners. This paper, however, is about a different kind of learner, who is located outside the educational system, and is yet expected to perform quite remarkable feats of language learning, almost entirely on his own. It is true that in recent years some concern has been shown for what is euphemistically called "the non-formal sector", and that attempts are being made to help the out-of-school learner. But the reforms or innovations attempted are usually borrowed from the school system; it is assumed that what works in the 'ordinary' classroom will also succeed outside it. While some effort is made to adapt teaching strategies to suit the out-of-school learner, the basic assumptions about what constitutes language learning and how it takes place remain unaltered. In this paper an attempt will be made to reconsider some of these assumptions. I wish to stress that I am not concerned with non-formal education in general, but only with a particular subtype of it, which seems to involve a rather different kind of language learning process from the one we associate with classroom teaching. The title of the paper may suggest that I would like to apply some of the insights gathered from the learning of language in non-formal contexts to 'normal' language teaching. This would probably be a useful reversal of the trend I have described above, but beyond a few tentative remarks I shall not attempt to discuss any possible applications. As I hope to bring out, the conditions under which language is often learnt outside the classroom are so different from those inside it that no transfer may be possible. In any case, I would prefer to stimulate discussion than to pre-empt it.

The remarks I have to offer are based on cursory and probably inadequate observations made during a recent survey of the English

language needs of industrial workers in Singapore. A part of the survey required on-the-job observation of certain categories of workers, to assess what specific uses of English were essential or important for them. The scale of observation was limited, mainly due to time constraints. It was difficult to arrange visits to factories : industrial houses in Singapore are very security-conscious and do not relish strangers with note-pads prowling around shopfloors. Eventually, we were able to visit five factories, representing different kinds of industry. Each visit lasted, on average, about three hours. A part of this time was spent in talking to management and supervisory staff in boardrooms, to obtain their views on the needs of workers for on-the-job communication in English. These meetings were followed by hurried conducted tours round the shopfloors, during which we recorded our observations. In a few cases we were able to observe sessions of on-the-job training or briefing, and had access to printed materials in English used by workers on the job.

While I hesitate to make any bold assertions on the basis of a few brief visits to a handful of factories, it may still be possible to offer a few exploratory remarks here. I sincerely hope it will be feasible to pursue the line of investigation that was attempted. The workers observed by us were either machine operators or production operators, on the lowest rung of the organisational ladder. Our reason for selecting them for observation was that many of them were being taught English under a scheme known as the Basic Education for Skills Training (BEST) programme.

More than half the workers observed were women. The largest group among them was in the age range 20–25. The majority were single, spoke one or other dialect of Chinese at home, and had been educated up to Primary Four level. (These data, incidentally, were obtained from a questionnaire filled out by similar groups of workers, not necessarily the ones we observed.)

A number of quick generalisations at this point may be helpful. First, there was little oral communication or interaction of any kind that these workers entered into while on the job. Each had limited, routine operations to perform, which required little interaction. Only some categories of workers, e.g., those concerned with maintaining inventories of stores, were required to interact frequently either with their co-workers or with outsiders.

In principle, workers at this level are expected to be able to

interact on the job with their supervisors, e.g., foremen, team-leaders, etc. The purpose of such communication, normally is either to receive instructions given by a supervisor or to ask for assistance when faced with a problem such as a malfunction in a machine. Sometimes assistance is sought not from a supervisor but from another worker, perhaps at a slightly higher level (e.g., a technician.) However, workers are expected to solve some of their own problems, especially those of a very routine nature, and trained to do so. For example, machine operators are required to consult printed instructions (in English), displayed prominently at their work station, when a routine fault develops in a machine. The instructions list (and describe) the more common faults and tell the operator exactly what to do in each case. She is expected to ask for help only if she is unable to correct the fault herself.

Being able to read and carry out printed instructions, related mostly to the operation, maintenance and repair of machines or the performance of routine procedures, constitutes probably the most stringent demand made on the English language ability of workers at this level. This, apparently, is something that *has* to be done in English, whereas certain other communicative activities which are notionally performed in English are, in fact, conducted in other languages. Many of the supervisors who were interviewed maintained, for instance, that they *had* to use English with their subordinates as there was no other common language; in actual practice, we found a good deal of supervisor-worker communication being carried on in dialect.

We were able to observe some of the workers as they read and carried out printed instructions of various kinds. The points that I wish to make in this paper are based, mostly, on my observation of such reading activity. I would like to focus on the kinds of reading process used by these workers, which are determined by the purposes of reading and the nature of the texts required to be read. Later, I will attempt to extend my remarks to the language learning processes which appear to be involved in such situations.

First, a few remarks about the texts. The appendix to this paper contains samples of some text material which we were able to collect; these are not, unfortunately, totally representative. Most of these texts appear, on first reading, to be fairly difficult. No attempt seems to be made to control the language to suit the reader with

average or below average ability in English. The language can be described as "technical"; it certainly conveyed rather little to us. What makes it "technical" and difficult is the use of specialised vocabulary, particularly nouns and verbs, rather than complexity of grammatical structure or discourse patterning. For instance, a sentence such as : "The tailstock must be offset towards the toolpost so that the small end of the taper is on the headstock of the work" means little to a teacher of English, but must be quite lucid to a lathe operator. The syntax, it will be noticed, is involved, but not abnormally obscure : it is the kind of construction that one might use naturally in writing instructions.

From the point of view of discourse, the kinds of text used contain several features which make them highly 'readable'. Most of the texts are short, not longer than 350 words. The visual lay-out makes the task of processing easier : each new item of information is marked off by paragraphing, and usually numbered. Particularly significant bits of information are printed in boldface and in general, large and clear type is used. Extensive use is made of pictorial or diagrammatic presentation. Most importantly, the range of illocutionary functions embodied in the texts is narrow and highly predictable. There is little ambiguity about these pieces of text. Although no attempt is made to introduce cohesive features deliberately in order to signal meaning relationships explicitly (e.g., the use of adverbials like "firstly", "finally", etc.), the 'transitions' are not difficult to follow.

Although there are, as we have just seen, features which could assist the less skilful reader, it is doubtful if these features are introduced with the average Singapore worker in mind. I assume the writers use *all* the linguistic resources available to them for the particular purpose they have in mind. Moreover, features of discourse are less obvious to the unskilled reader than features of lexis and syntax. It is easy for such a reader to be so disoriented by the 'surface' difficulties presented by unfamiliar lexis and involved syntax that he misses the discourse features which can aid him in the task of reading. It is no doubt possible for a piece of text which is 'easy' at the level of discourse : in such a case, a reader may be made to feel that he is "getting the message" without actually doing so. Conversely, a piece of text containing a large number of lexical and syntactic hurdles may be relatively easy to process at the level of discourse. But only a skilled reader may be able to get past the purely 'linguistic'

difficulties: the less competent reader is likely to give up.

The point I am trying to make is that the process of reading, for the workers whom we had occasion to observe, could not have been made very much easier by the features of discourse. However, most of them seemed to have little difficulty in 'reading' the instructions which they had to follow. There was little of the fumbling, incomprehension, regression, etc. associated with low reading skill. These workers seemed to be able to take in the meaning fairly quickly. We could not judge, of course, whether the actions they performed in response to the printed instructions were the correct ones; but they seemed to know what they were doing. It also seemed evident that they did need to consult these printed instructions periodically. The instructions would have been redundant if the workers had been able to memorize the information contained in all of them, in which case they would not need to 'read' them; but such was not the case. Obviously, there was *some* kind of 'reading' going on every time a worker referred to a printed instruction, in the sense that she was trying to retrieve information stored in the printed text which would not have been available otherwise. Most or all of these workers had poor ability when it came to reading anything outside the kind of material they had to decipher on the job. Most of them, for example, made very heavy weather of the English questionnaires which they had to fill up; on the other hand, those who chose the Malay or Chinese versions had little difficulty.

We are not able to say how much, if any, reading in English is done by workers at this level beyond the reading that they are compelled to do on the job, related mostly to mechanical operations. We were told that they frequently read and make use of the notices, announcements, etc. displayed on bulletin-boards. Many of these relate to social and recreational activities but some contain important information about job or training opportunities. It is quite possible that this kind of information is disseminated by word of mouth.

We are faced, then with a paradox : here are persons of relatively low education, possessing very little proficiency in English, who are able to decode fairly difficult pieces of text related to their jobs but are unable (as far as one can judge) to 'read' almost anything outside of such texts. How does one explain this phenomenon?

One explanation could be that they are using a 'pseudo-reading' process — that they are not really using print to retrieve 'new'

information, but are employing some other process which resembles reading superficially.

Children who are being taught to read can become quite adept at 'pseudo-reading'. As they listen to a piece of text being read aloud (by the teacher or by their peers) repeatedly, they are able to memorize it : they are then able to simulate the process of reading quite effectively, using appropriate eye and head movements, long before they have learnt to recognise print.

This is 'pseudo-reading' in its most extreme form : in fact, it is not 'reading' at all, since the 'reader' is making no use of visual recognition but depending totally on auditory recall. Such reading is completely reproductive and non-generative : the reader cannot process any text to which he has not been exposed before.

Genuine reading, on the other hand, is generative in that it allows the reader to handle pieces of text which he has never been exposed to before, and to absorb new information. This process is scarcely dependent on auditory memory; it makes much greater use of *visual* recognition and cueing. The genuine reader uses the marks on the page to retrieve various kinds of meaning represented by the text. The retrieval system is, as a matter of fact, only partially dependent on visual recognition. The more efficient the reader is the less he relies on visual recognition: the process he uses is better described as *cueing*, because here the printed symbols serve to cue and trigger off the complicated processes of 'meaning construction' (this term is more appropriate than 'meaning retrieval' because the efficient reader does not merely *retrieve* meanings which the writer has 'locked' into the text; he *contributes to these meanings). The term 'cueing' implies that the reader is making only indirect* use of the visual symbols to get at the meanings and that he does not make use of *all* the symbols on the page. As several writers have suggested, reading is a sampling process : the reader takes in a few samples of the printed text and supplies the rest of the 'message' himself. In order to fill in the gaps he makes use of his knowledge of the language as well as his knowledge of the world, in which is included his knowledge of all other texts he has ever read. The more proficient the reader is in the language, the greater his control of its semantic and syntactic systems, the more efficiently he can be *expected* to read. This is because he can make efficient use of semantic and syntactic cues to construct meanings : he can, for example, anticipate

and predict meanings more efficiently than the reader who had not mastered the 'code'. In actual practice, there is not always a match between proficiency in the language and reading ability : there are various perceptual and conceptual factors which can lower reading ability.

What I have described above are the two ends of the reading spectrum : at one end, the pseudo-reading of the pre-literate child, which is fully echoic and auditory ; at the other, the complex set of reading processes used by the fast and efficient reader.

Between these two limits there may exist a whole gamut of reading processes which combine, in varying degree, the characteristics of pseudo-reading with those of genuine reading. What I suggest is that the workers we observed were using some such intermediate process of reading, which seems to be quite adequate for their limited purposes. It would, however, be inadequate for any wider form of reading.

My hunch is — and this is something that can and should be investigated further — that the reading process employed by these workers is largely echoic : that is, they make major use of auditory recall when they read. They may be 'hearing' the texts quite prominently as they process them visually — but there definitely is some visual processing going on, unlike what happens in the pre-literate child.

The content of the texts being read is generally familiar : there is some, but not much new information. The content has, generally speaking, been introduced to the workers *orally*, during preliminary on-the-job training or briefing, by their instructors and supervisors. The training involves a lot of repetitive drilling : the instructor repeats each procedure or operational routine until it is firmly fixed in the auditory memory. (This implies, of course, that the trainee must be able to process all the information that is being received through the *auditory* channel. This is quite a feat in itself, because of the complexity of the information — but I shall go into this aspect of language ability only later.)

As the trainee worker *listens* to the content of the text he is, at the same time, exposed to it visually. With repeated exposure, the relevant pieces of text get photographed into the visual memory. After a time the auditory and visual impressions merge. The trainee can look at a piece of text and recall quickly all the information it

contains, using both the 'photograph' and 'audio-tape' stored in separate parts of the brain. I suspect that initially the process is more dependent on the auditory impression than the visual, and so resembles pseudo-reading more than it resembles genuine reading. But gradually, it has to depend increasingly on visual recall, or rather on visual cueing.

We are all familiar with adults who are practically illiterate in their own languages and yet can 'read' extended texts, such as religious scriptures. In all such cases the activity of reading is repeated again and again as a fixed routine. Furthermore, it is normally preceded or accompanied by oral activity. This kind of reading is no doubt heavily auditory and echoic. But there are limits to the amount of textual matter that can be stored in the auditory memory and recalled accurately — even though there are individuals who can perform prodigious feats of auditory memory. When the amount of textual information to be stored is large, a secondary memory is necessary to support the auditory memory, and most 'readers' learn to make use of photographic or visual memory. What happens, I believe, is that the visual marks help to 'cue' the process of auditory recall. The 'reader' uses the printed symbols as a mnemonic or filing index in the part of the auditory memory store that he has to draw on. Adults who read from a printed text using a combination of auditory recall and visual cueing are generally able to tell how much information each part of the text contains. For example, a functionally illiterate person reading a religious text knows when to turn the page, which is something that a pre-literate child may not be able to do.

Visual cueing is less complex and efficient than the syntactic and semantic cueing used by an 'advanced' reader who knows the language well. In fact, visual cueing is a pre-linguistic stage in reading, in the sense that the graphic symbols have not acquired, at this point, their full *value* as elements of a complex linguistic system : they are, as I have just said, merely 'signposts' or visual artefacts, almost devoid of linguistic significance. Every reader, I suspect, has to pass through this transitional stage in the development of his reading ability, whether he is acquiring literacy in his first language or learning to read in a new language. Even if he has already learnt the spoken language, he has to "crack the code" a second time when he learns to read : that is when all the resources of the language can

assist him in obtaining meaning from the text.

The question is : does visual cueing (with auditory recall) enable a reader to process texts containing new information? In principle, this is possible, provided the amount of new information is small. However, the process is laborious and inefficient. The reader has to 'spell out' and put together the new information, using visual memory to recognise the familiar graphic shapes and then using both auditory and visual memory to attach meanings to these shapes. Two factors can help to speed up the process : first, the predictability of the new information, and secondly, the occurrence of pre-fabricated routines, or chunks of language (extending over one or more phrases or even longer stretches), which can be processed holistically without having to be analysed. Readers are able to photograph fairly large chunks of language if they recur frequently. The more 'routine' the use of language in the text, the greater is the likelihood that pre-fabricated chunks will incur. What makes reading possible for readers with low literacy skills as well as poor general proficiency in the language (such as the workers we observed) is, essentially, the highly routine nature of the entire activity. Whatever new information they are required to process is largely predictable as it comes from a limited universe of discourse. They know, more or less, what to expect.

The real clue to their 'success' in reading lies, however as I suggested earlier, in their ability to process and store the *auditory* input received during on-the-job training or briefing. Their reading, as I have said before, is largely echoic — they recapitulate what they have 'heard' earlier, with some visual cueing to make the task easier. Successful reading, in other words, results from successful listening. But what is it that makes listening so successful?

Several factors could be responsible, of which I would like to select the nature of the auditory input and the manner in which it is presented. A great deal seems to depend on *when*, *where* and *by whom* the input is provided.

The auditory input is nearly identical, in form and function, with the text material which has to be processed later through reading. Like the latter, it consists mostly of instructions for the operation of machines, together with allied procedures such as the observance of safety rules. The language of instruction consists mainly of the description of machines, that is, the naming of parts and their

functions, together with the description and explanation of actions which are required to be performed by the listener. When machines and their parts are described by the instructor, the oral description is always accompanied by physical demonstration : the instructor does not talk about anything which the worker cannot see for himself. The actions described are similarly demonstrated. From time to time, workers are asked to handle the machines themselves, while the talk is in progress, and to perform the actions which the instructor has described and demonstrated. In other words, auditory input is accompanied by both visual and tactile inputs. The result is a remarkably rich kind of 'comprehensible input', to use Krashen's term. Under these circumstances, it is almost impossible for the listener *not* to understand and remember what he listens to. Even if he can comprehend only a fraction of the auditory input, he is still receiving most of the same information through the visual and tactile channels. He is not dependent only on language to understand the 'message'. Moreover, each message is normally delivered at fairly slow speed, and repeated several times. All this results in almost perfect information retrieval and storage. It is listening at its most efficient.

The kind of learner that I am describing has several other things in his favour which are not available to the ordinary learner in the classroom. There is, for instance, the overwhelming pressure to learn and succeed : nothing like it can ever be introduced into the classroom. The worker knows that he cannot afford to fail. There is a kind of earnestness in his situation which is qualitatively different from the motivation of even the most serious pupil. Learning in the classroom is, at best, a preparation for life : learning on the worksite *is* life. The stakes are very much higher.

Then, consider the relationship between the learner and the teacher in such a situation. The teacher, in this case, is an expert in the trade which the learner is trying to acquire. The teacher, in other words, is a model of what the learner is trying to achieve. Moreover, it is quite easy for the learner to identify himself with the teacher : they are comparable in their socio-cultural backgrounds and educational achievements. How many schoolchildren can identify themselves with their teacher in the same way? How many regard the teacher as their professional ideal; how many would want to acquire his skills? The teacher, for most pupils is connected very indirectly

with the goals they might wish to achieve; his contribution to the achievement of those goals may not be apparent. The relationship between master-craftsman and apprentice is very different, and one can only speculate about the extent to which it might influence learning on the worksite.

We have to remind ourselves at this point that what we are concerned with is not the general processes of learning on the worksite, but only language learning. The point to be emphasised is that language learning is scarcely ever seen to be the *goal* in such learning situations : the learners concerned are neither seen by others as language learners nor do they see themselves as language learners. This may be the most crucial factor of all. Most people concerned with the training of workers in Singapore do not seem to have considered on-the-job training in the various trades and skills as a possible input to language learning, although there is now some concern about teaching them English. We observed a few training sessions conducted in vocational training institutes. Instruction in English was a part of the programmes; it occupied a part of the timetable. There were English instructors who conducted English classes. We did not actually visit these classes, but we rather suspect that they are not very different from the English classes conducted in schools. Meanwhile, the trainees continue to learn much of their English in the metalworking or carpentry workshop. It has not occured to anyone to make use of the opportunities for learning that exist here.

What we have to contend with is not success, or failure, in language learning in the conventional sense, but a very different kind of success, which should perhaps make us reconsider our ideas of what it may mean to learn language. The people we are talking about are extremely poor users of English, who would fail any conventional test of language proficiency. They are barely able to understand what is said to them in English, or to take part in any 'general' conversation. Their literacy in English, beyond the few routine tasks they perform on the shopfloor, is almost non-existent. But consider what they are able to achieve : they are able to learn, from scratch, how to operate and maintain sophisticated machinery, and all this learning is carried in English. It is quite a feat of learning, but there is little to show for it.

What does all this prove? Very little. It only suggests that success in language learning is not only an elusive but a highly relative

concept. Most of us tend to view language learning as a fairly monolithic activity. We view language learning in terms, essentially, of *competence*. Language is assumed to have been learnt only when the 'creative construction' process has been activated — in other words, when the learner has begun to "crack the code". It is accepted, of course, that there may be different degrees of success in *operating* the code, once it has been acquired; but the essential requirement for success seems to be the ability to use language *generatively*. This is no doubt essential for the 'general' learner, for whom it is impossible to predict the exact tasks that will have to be performed. At the other extreme from the general learner is the kind of learner who uses language for highly restricted and predictable tasks. Is he really required to 'learn' language? Does he learn in the same way as the general learner? The popular view, at the moment, is that such a person may be required to use only 'language-like' behaviour, rather than genuine language behaviour, which is — by definition — generative.

What seems to be involved here, then, is some kind of rote-learning, rather than "creative construction". The learners do not actually "crack the code", but they operate fixed patterns which exemplify the code. Our observation of Singapore workers suggests, however, that the dichotomy between "rote-learning" and "creative-construction" may not be total. I would like to suggest that these workers are, in fact, able to "crack the code", but in a very limited way, and for very limited purposes. Within a very narrow range, their language behaviour is, in fact, generative : they can, I feel — although at the moment I do not have material evidence to support this feeling — handle most kinds of oral and written discourse, including things they have never been exposed to before, provided it relates to the kinds of acivity they normally perform on the worksite. Beyond this narrow range, they have almost no English.

Our observation seems to confirm that people can *learn* enough language to 'do' certain things by just being made to do them repeatedly : it may not be necessary to 'teach' them the language through a separate programme. This suggests, in turn, that doing things that involve the use of language may, after all, be the most economical way of learning language, if not the most efficient. This is what some theoreticians have been telling us; I have merely cited some crude empirical evidence that seems to confirm the view.

JOB INSTRUCTION SHEET **SAMPLE 1**

PRODUCT: 41C/CV/CX	OP NO:	PROCEDURE NAME: TOPCASE REPAIR I & II	ASSEMBLY NO:	DATE: 20 OCTOBER 83
IMPORTANT STEP: Logical step to *advance* the work. *Action* word.		KEY POINTS: Anything in a *step* that might make or break the job. *Or* that might make the work easier, such as knack, timing, technique, etc.		
WHAT		HOW		WHY
1. Prepare station.		A. Collect all reject units from Topcase-Inspection and Heatstake stations (for Repair I) and Final Assembly (for Repair II).		A. To gather units to work upon. For Repair I, units are accompanied by identification stickers. For Repair II, units are accompanied by record sheets.
		B. Place the latest rejects at bottom of stack of rejects.		B. Always repair the earlier dated rejects first.
2. Antistatic precaution.		A. Attach antistatic strap to wrist and switch on antistatic fan.		A. Control static electricity.
3. Confirm reject unit.		A. Pick up a reject unit and check (with a tester, if necessary) the mode of failure.		A. To ensure that the failure mode tallies with that recorded.
4. Rework on reject unit.		A. Repair the unit according to its failure mode.		A. Different failures require different rework.
5. Initial.		A. Initial on the keyboard.		A. For traceability.
6. Record.		A. Record as record sheets require.		A. For record purposes.
7. Identify scrap.		A. Write the mode of failure on a sticker and stick it on the scrap unit (e.g., hybrids).		A. Traceability is possible for any scrap generated.
8. Transfer.		A. Transfer repaired unit according to Final Assy or Heatstake operation which ever is necessary for the operation.		A. For next operation.
		PRECAUTIONS: • Make sure all repaired units are tested good before passing on to the next station.		228

APPENDIX 1 (*continued*)

PRODUCT: 41C/CV/CX	OP NO:	PROCEDURE NAME: TOPCASE INSPECTION	ASSEMBLY NO:	DATE: 25 OCTOBER 83
IMPORTANT STEP: Logical step to *advance* the work. *Action* word.		KEY POINTS: Anything in a *step* that might make or break the job. *Or* that might make the work easier, such as knack, timing, technique, etc.		
WHAT		HOW		WHY
1. Inspection of Topcase Assy		1) Switch on Delonising fan and use antistatic strap. 2) Take Topcase assembly and inspect for:- i) contamination in window area (blow with air-gun when ever neccessary to clean off the dust particles) ii) scratches on window and cases. iii) misloads or illegible printing on the keys. iv) overlay scratches, misprint or imperfections.		1) Prevent ESD. 2) To clear off contaminent.
2. Key Feel Test		2) Press each key from left to right, top to bottom and check for each key feel.		
3. Transfer		3) Transfer good unit to next station for heatstake and sonic weld. Rejected units should be sent to Topcase Repair Station.		

APPENDIX 1 (*continued*)

PRODUCT: 41C/CV	OP NO:	PROCEDURE NAME: BOTTOM CASE ASSY	ASSEMBLY NO: 721	DATE: 20 OCTOBER 83
IMPORTANT STEP: Logical step to *advance* the work. *Action* word.		KEY POINTS: Anything in a *step* that might make or break the job. *Or* that might make the work easier, such as knack, timing, technique, etc.		
WHAT		HOW		WHY
Assembly Bottom Case		1. Place the Bottom Case with the serial Number down on the table. 2. Insert I/O Assy with contact parts up and the battery contact toward the inner space of Bottom Case. NOTE: Make sure the I/O Assy is press down fully to ensure firmness in Assembly.		2. To ensure proper Assy.

APPENDIX 2

BASIC POWER PRESS SAFETY REGULATIONS

1. NEVER have more than one operator on the press.
2. NEVER operate or approach any press unless instructed by your Supervisor or Shift Leader.
3. NEVER use your hands to remove anything from within the die area unless the motor is off and the flywheel has come to a complete stop.
4. NEVER talk to another person while operating a press. If talking is necessary stop the press until the conversation is completed.
5. NEVER leave a running press unattended. Shut off the power to prevent an unintentional start.
6. ALWAYS make sure that there are only required items placed near the die area.
7. ALWAYS use the magnet tong to remove the parts from the die area.
8. ALWAYS operate a press with both hands to activate the double button.
9. ALWAYS check that the sweep away device and the photo electric cell are in good order before operating on the press.
10. ALWAYS check your machine to ensure that there is no double punching before working on the press.
11. ALWAYS report any abnormal machine condition or machine malfunction to your supervisor or shift leader immediately.
12. ALWAYS ask your supervisor or shift leader if you have any doubt.

The above rules and regulations were explained to me and I fully understood and agree to follow them.

Interviewee's Signature	Interviewer's Signature
Date	Date

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